GERMANISCHE BIBLIOTHEK

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I. SAMMLUNG GERMANISCHER ELEMENTAR- UND HANDBÜCHER

I. REIHE: GRAMMATIKEN

NEUNTER BAND

A MODERN ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

OTTO JESPERSEN

PART IV
SYNTAX. THIRD VOLUME
TIME AND TENSE

HEIDELBERG 1931
CARL WINTERS UNIVERSITÄTSBUCHHANDLUNG

A MODERN ENGLISH GRAMMAR

ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES

BY

OTTO JESPERSEN, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.

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Preface.

When after a long illness I was able to begin work again, I soon realized that it would take long to finish some of the chapters which I had originally intended for the beginning of vol. IV, but that I might easily bring the section on "Time and Tense"—partly written years ago—into shape so that it would form a well rounded-off whole of about the same size as the previous volumes. This, therefore, together with ch. XXIII, which should have found its place at the end of vol. III with the other Predicatives, is what I now lay before fellow-grammarians, in the hope that they will be interested in the way in which I have kept (notional) Time and (grammatical) Tense apart, in my definition of the Expanded Tenses, and in my treatment of the old *shall* and *will* difficulty—to mention only a few of the most important problems dealt with in this volume. I have endeavoured to be as clear as possible and to do justice to the real nature of grammatical phenomena; and it is my impression that the use of a complicated terminology has been avoided by the singling out for separate treatment of the imaginative use of tenses (chapters IX and X) and of indirect speech (chapters XI and XXI).

As the title indicates, this is a grammar of Modern English, i. e. the period from Caxton to our own days, and the treatment is historical. As there are still scholars who will not recognize an English grammar as historical unless its centre of gravity is in or even before the Anglo-Saxon period, it may not be superfluous here to state my conviction that history is of value even if it deals with recent periods only, and that, on the other hand, the truly historical point of view leads to a recognition of the right to exist of present-day usage, however widely it may differ from the language of former periods. Much has been written lately against the one-sidedly historical school of linguistics, and stress has been laid on the importance of the grammatical description of the language of one definite period. But when Ferdinand de Saussure and his followers insist on a sharp line of division between what they call diachronic and synchronic linguistics, their view is to my mind exaggerated: the two subjects cannot and should not be rigidly separated, least of all in a language possessing so strong a literary tradition as English. I have therefore tried to combine both points of view, arranging, wherever my material allowed it, the historical evidence so as to lead up to a statement of present usage. In order to discriminate between different social and local strata I have often consulted various English friends, whom I herewith beg to thank for their kind answers to my inquiries.

The manuscript of this volume was sent to the printers on the 17th of January, 1931; it has thus been impossible for me to utilize two treatments of the same subject published since that time, B. Trnka's able "Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden" (Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague III) and George O. Curme's "Syntax" (Boston & New York), which contains many most valuable observations, while the system and manner of viewing things syntactical are diametrically opposed to mine.

My best thanks for valuable help are due to my old friend Professor G. C. Moore Smith, who read parts of the manuscript during a stay here a couple of years ago, and to a young friend, N. Haislund, who has assisted me in copying quotations and parts of the manuscript; both have also read the proofs and thereby materially contributed to the correctness of my book.

Gentofte, Copenhagen, Oct. 1931.

Otto Jespersen.

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Abbreviations and List of Books.

(In this list L = London, MM = Macmillan, N. Y. = New York, T = Tauchnitz edition.)

Some recent novels from which only one or two quotations are taken, are not included in this list.

Ade A = George Ade, Artie. Chicago 1897.
adj = adjective.
adv = adverb.
Alden U = Percy Alden, The Unemployed. L.
Aldrich S = Thomas B. Aldrich, The Stillwater Tragedy. T 1880.
Alford Q = Dean Alford, The Queen's English, 8th ed. L 1889.
Allen W = Grant Allen, The Woman Who Did. T 1895.
S = — Strange Stories. L 1899.
Amr = American.
Angell I = Norman Angell, The Great Illusion. L 1914.
Anstey V = F. Anstey, Vice Versa. L 1882.
AR = The Ancrene Riwle, ed. Morton. L 1853 [the usual name Ancren Riwle is incorrect].
Archer A = William Archer, America To-Day. L 1904.
Arnold P = Matthew Arnold, Poetical Works. L 1890 (MM).
Ascham S = Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster (Arber).
T = — Toxophilus (ib.).
Aumonier OB = Stacy Aumonier, Olga Bardel. L 1916.
Q = — The Querrils. L 1919.
Austen E = Jane Austen, Emma. T.
M = — Mansfield Park. L 1897.
P = — Pride and Prejudice. L 1894.
S = — Sense and Sensibility. L n. d.
AV = The Authorised Version of the Bible 1611 (Facsimile ed., Oxford 1833.—20th C. V. [or Tr.] = The Twentieth Century New Testament, L 1898—1901).
Bacon A = Francis Bacon, The New Atlantis, ed. Moore Smith. Cambridge 1900.
E = — Essays, ed. Wright. L 1881.

Bale T = John Bale, A Comedy concernynge Thre Lawes 1538, ed. Schröer (Anglia V 1882).
Barrie A = James M. Barrie, Auld Licht Idylls. L 1898.
M = — The Little Minister. L 1893.
MO = — Margaret Ogilvy. T 1897.
T = — Tommy and Grizel. L 1900.
W = — A Window in Thrums. 6d ed.
Beaconsfield L = Benjamin Disraeli, Lothair. L n. d.
Beaumont = Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, ed. Glover and Waller. Cambridge 1905.
(Sometimes also quoted from Mermaid Series ed.)
Behn = Aphra Behn, The Novels, ed. E. A. Baker. L 1904.
Bellamy L = Bellamy, Looking Backward. L n. d.
Bennett A = Arnold Bennett, Anna of the Five Towns. L 1912.
Acc = — Accident. T.
B = — The Grand Hotel Babylon. L 1912.
C = — Clayhanger. T 1912.
Cd = — The Card. L.
ECh = — Elsie and the Child. T.
GS = — The Grim Smile of the Five Towns. T.
H = — How to Live on 24 Hours. L 1912.
HL = — Hilda Lessways. T 1912.
HM = — The Human Machine. L 1910.
L = — Lilian. L 1922.
LM = — The Love Match. T.
LR = — Lord Raingo. L 1926.
P = — Mr. Prohack. L.
PL = — The Pretty Lady. L 1918.
R = — The Regent. 1/- ed. L 1916.
RS = — Riceyman Steps. T.
T = — These Twain. L 1916.
W = — Old Wives' Tale. T 1909.
Benson A = Edward F. Benson, Arundel. L 1915.
B = — The Babe B. A. L 1911.
D = — Dodo. T 1894.
J = — The Judgment Books. L 1895.
N = Robert Hugh Benson, None Other Gods. L.
W = Arthur C. Benson, From a College Window. L 1906.
Bentley T = E. C. Bentley, Trent's Last Case. L 1912.
Beow = Beowulf.
Beresford G = J. D. Beresford, God's Counterpoint. L 1918.
Birmingham W = G. A. Birmingham, The Adventures of Dr. Whitty. L 1915.
Birrell O = Augustine Birrell, Obiter Dicta. L (6d ed.).

BJo = Ben Jonson, generally quoted from Mermaid Series.
A = — The Alchemist, ed. L. M. Hathaway. N. Y. 1903. Quoted by act and line.
Black F = William Black, The New Prince Fortunatus. T 1890.
P = — The Princess of Thule. T.
Ph = — The Strange Adventurès of a Phaeton. L s. a.
Bøgholm = N. Bøgholm, Bacon og Shakespeare. København 1906.
Borst G = Eugen Borst, Die Gradadverbien im Englischen. Heidelberg 1902.
Bosw(ell) = James Boswell, Life of S. Johnson, ed. Fitzgerald. L 1900.
Bradley M = Henry Bradley, The Making of English. L 1904.
S = Andrew C. Bradley, Shakespearean Tragedy. L 1904.
Bridges E = Robert Bridges, Eros and Psyche L 1894.
Bromfield GW = Louis Bromfield, A Good Woman. N. Y. 1927.
Brontë J = Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre (Nelson).
P = — The Professor. L 1867.
V = — Villette. L 1867.
W = Emily Brontë, Wuthering Heights. L 1867.
Browning = Robert Browning, Poetical Works. L 1896. Two vols.
Mrs Browning A = Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Aurora Leigh. T.
Buchanan F = Robert Buchanan, Father Anthony. L.
J = — The Wandering Jew. L 1893.
Bunyan G = John Bunyan, Grace Abounding, etc., ed. Brown. Cambridge 1907.
P = — The Pilgrim's Progress, 1st ed. 1678.
Burns = Robert Burns, The Centenary edition. Edinburgh 1896.
Butler E = Samuel Butler, Essays on Life, Art and Science. L 1908.
Er = — Erewhon. L 1913.
ER = — Erewhon Revisited. L 1910.
N = — Note-Books. L 1912.
W = — The Way of All Flesh. L 1908.
Butler H = — Hudibras, ed. Waller. Cambridge 1906.
By(ron) = George Gordon Byron, Poetical Works, ed. E. H. Coleridge. L 1905.
Ch = — Childe Harold (Canto and stanza).
DJ = — Don Juan (Canto and stanza).
L = Lord Byron in his Letters, ed. V. H. Collins. L 1927.
c. = century.
Caine C = Hall Caine, The Christian. L 1897.
E = — The Eternal Life. L 1901.
M = — The Manxman. L 1894.
P = — The Prodigal Son. L 1904.
S = — The Shadow of a Crime. (The Engl. Libr.) 1892.

Cambridge Trifles [anonymous]. L 1881.
Campbell Shl = Olwen Ward Campbell, Shelley and the Unromantics. L 1924.
Canfield SW = Dorothy Canfield, Her Son's Wife. N. Y. 1926.
Carlyle F = Thomas Carlyle in Froude, Life (1, 2 = First 40 Years of his Life, L 1882; 3, 4 = His Life in London. L 1884).
G = — Correspondence with Goethe, ed. Norton. L 1887.
H = — Heroes and Hero-Worship. L 1890.
P = — Past and Present. L 1893.
R = — Reminiscences, ed. Froude. L 1881.
S = — Sartor Resartus. L n. d.
Carpenter Ad = Edward Carpenter, From Adam's Peak to Elephanta. L 1910.
C = — Civilisation, its Cause and Cure. L 1897.
D = — My Days and Dreams. L 1916.
E = — England's Ideal. L 1887.
L = — Love's Coming of Age. Manchester 1897.
P = — Prisons, Police, and Punishment. L 1905.
Carroll A = Lewis Carroll, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland. L (6d ed.).
L = — Through the Looking-Glass. L (6d ed.)
Caxton B = William Caxton, Blanchardyn, ed. Kellner. L 1890.
R = — Reynard the Fox (Arber).
cf = confer.
Ch = Geoffrey Chaucer, Skeat's Six-Volume Edition. (A, B, C, etc., the Groups in Canterbury Tales. MP = Minor Poems. HF = House of Fame. L[GW] = Legend of Good Women. PF = Parlement of Foules. R = Romaunt of the Rose. T = Troilus.)
ChE = Otto Jespersen, Chapters on English. L 1918.
Chesterton B = Gilbert K. Chesterton, Browning. L 1906.
F = — The Innocence of Father Brown. T 1911.
Childers R = E. Childers, The Riddle of the Sands. L (Nelson).
Churchill C = Winston Churchill, Coniston. L 1906.
Clough = Arthur H. Clough, Poems and Prose Remains. L 1869. 2 vols.
Coleridge = Samuel Coleridge, Poetical Works. L 1893. (MM.)
B = — Biographia Literaria. (Everyman.)
Sh = — Lectures on Shakespeare. (Bohn.)

coll. = colloquial.
Collier E = Price Collier, England and the English. N. Y. 1909.
Collingwood R = W. G. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin. L 1905.
Collins M = Wilkie Collins, The Moonstone (The World's Classics).
W = — The Woman in White (ib.).
Congreve = William Congreve, Mermaid Series. L.
Conway C = Hugh Conway, Called Back. T 1884.
Q Couch, see Quiller-Couch.
Cowper = William Cowper, Poetical Works. Globe ed. L 1889.
L = — Letters, ed. J. G. Frazer. L 1912.
cp = compare.
Curme CG = G. O. Curme, College English Grammar. Richmond 1925.
Dan = Danish.
Dane FD = Clemence Dane, First the Blade (Nelson).
L = — Legend (The Omnibus Books).
Darwin B = Charles Darwin, His Life, etc., by F. Darwin. L 1892.
D = — Descent of Man. L 1888.
E = — Expression of the Emotions. L 1873.
L = — Life and Letters, 3 vols. L 1888.
Decker F = Thomas Decker, The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus, ed. Scherer.
G = — The Gull's Hornbook, ed. McKerrow (King's Library 1904).
S = — The Seven Deadly Sins, ed. Arber. L 1879.
Sh = — The Shoemaker's Holiday, ed. Warnke & Proescholdt.
Defoe G = Daniel Defoe, The Complete Gentleman, ed. Bülbring. L 1890.
M = — Moll Flanders (The Abbey Classics).
P = — Journal of the Plague Year, ed. Brayley. L n. d.
R = — Robinson Crusoe 1719. (Facsimile ed. L 1883.)
R2 = — Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. L 1719.
Rox = — Roxana (The Abbey Classics).
Deloney = The Works of Thomas Deloney, ed. F. O. Mann. Oxford 1912.
Deutschbein ME = Deutschbein, Mutschmann, Eicher, Handbuch der englischen grammatik.
SNS = Max Deutschbein, System der neuenglischen syntax.
Devil E = The Merry Devil of Edmonton (in Gayley II).

Di D (or DC) = Charles Dickens, David Copperfield. L 1897 (MM).
Do = — Dombey and Son. L 1887 (Ch. D. ed.).
F = — Our Mutual Friend. L 1912 (Nelson).
H = — Hard Times. L 1903 (Nelson).
L = — Letters. L 1893 (MM).
M = — Martin Chuzzlewit. L n. d. (Ch. D. ed.).
N = — Nicholas Nickleby. L 1900 (MM).
P = — Pickwick Papers. L 1890 (Chapman & Hall).
Pw = — Pickwick Papers. T.
Sk = — Sketches. T.
T = — Tale of Two Cities. T.
X = — Christmas Books. L 1892 (MM).
dial. = dialect(s), dialectal.
Dickinson C = G. Lowes Dickinson, Letters from John Chinaman. L 1904.
Im = — Is Immortality Desirable? Boston 1909.
R = — Religion. L 1906.
S = — A Modern Symposium. L 1906.
Dobson F = Henry A. Dobson, Fielding. L 1889.
P = — Collected Poems. L 1897.
Doyle B = Arthur Conan Doyle, The Hound of the Baskervilles. T 1902.
F = — The Sign of Four. T 1891.
G = — The Great Shadow. T 1893.
M = — The Stark Munro Letters. T 1895.
S = — 1, 2 = Adventures; 3, 4 = Memoirs; 5, 6 = Return; of Sherlock Holmes. T 1893—1905.
St = — A Study in Scarlet. T 1892.
Dreiser AT = Theodore Dreiser, An American Tragedy. N. Y.
F = — Free, and Other Stories. N. Y. 1918.
Dryden = John Dryden, Poetical Works. Globe ed. L 1890. (Sometimes also quoted vol. 5 of Scott's ed.)
Dyboski T = Roman Dyboski, Tennysons Sprache und Stil. Wien 1907.
E = English.
E3, see below Sh.
Eastw = Chapman, Jonson, Marston, Eastward Hoe (in Gayley).
ed. = edition, edited.
EDD = Joseph Wright, English Dialect Dictionary. Oxf. 1898 ff.
EEP = Alexander Ellis, On Early English Pronunciation. L 1869 ff
Egerton Castle K = Egerton Castle, Keynotes. L 1893.

ElE = Elizabethan English.
Eliot, see GE.
Elizabeth Exp = Expiation, by the Author of Elizabeth and her German Garden. L.
R = The Adventures of Elizabeth in Rügen. L 1911.
Ellis M = Havelock Ellis, Man and Woman. L 1904.
N = — The New Spirit. L 1892.
Escott E = T. H. S. Escott, England. L 1887.
ESt = Englische Studien. Leipzig.

F = French; folio.
Farnol A = Farnol, The Amateur Gentleman. L.
Farquhar B = George Farquhar, The Beaux' Stratagem (in Restoration Plays, Everyman 1912).
Fielding = Henry Fielding, Works, Second ed. L 1762 (8 vols.).
T = — Tom Jones. L 1782 (4 vols.).
First = My First Book, by W. Besant and 20 other writers. L 1897.
Fludyer = Harry Fludyer at Cambridge [by R. C. Lehmann]. L 1890.
Fox = Memories of Old Friends, from the Journals of Caroline Fox. T 1882.
Fowler KE = The King's English.
MEU = A Dictionary of Modern English Usage.
Franklin = Benjamin Franklin, Autobiography, ed. Macdonald. L 1905.
Franz = W. Franz, Shakespeare-Grammatik. 2. Aufl. Heidelberg 1909.
N = Nachtrag (in 3. Aufl. 1924).
Froude C = James Anthony Froude, Carlyle [see above].
O = — Oceana. T 1886.
Fulg = Fulgens & Lucres, by H. Medwall, ed. Boas & Reed. 1926. (Page.)
fut = future.

G = German.
Galsw(orthy) C = John Galsworthy, The Country House. L 1911.
Ca = — Caravan. L 1925.
D = — The Dark Flower. T 1913.
F = — The Freelands. Nelson 1916.
FM = — A Family Man and Other Plays. T.
Frat. = — Fraternity. L.
IC = — In Chancery. L 1920.
IPh = — The Island Pharisees. (1/- ed.) 1925.
M = — A Motley. T 1910.
MP = — The Man of Property. L (1906). Pop. ed. 1915.

Galsw(orthy) P = John Galsworthy, Plays (1 = Silver Box. 2 = Joy. 3 = Strife. 4 = The Eldest Son. 5 = The Little Dream. 6 = Justice. 7 = The Fugitive. 8 = The Pigeon. 9 = The Mob). L.
SP = — Saint's Progress. L 1919.
SS = — Silver Spoon. L 1926.
Sw = — Swan Song. L 1928.
T = — Five Tales. L 1918.
TL = — To Let. L 1921.
WM = — White Monkey. L 1924.
Galton H = Francis Galton, Hereditary Genius. L 1892.
Gammer [Gurtons Needle], page in Manly Specimens.
Gardiner H = Samuel R. Gardiner, Student's History of England. L 1898.
Garnett T = Richard Garnett, The Twilight of the Gods. L 1888.
Gay BP = John Gay [Beggar's Opera & Polly], Singspiele, ed. Sarrazin.
Gayley, Representative English Comedies. N. Y. 1903.
Gaye, Vivandière. L.
GE A = George Eliot, Adam Bede. L 1900.
L = — Life and Letters. T.
M = — Mill on the Floss. T.
Mm = — Middlemarch. N. Y. n. d. (Burt).
S = — Silas Marner. T (Everyman's Library).
V = — The Lifted Veil. T.
Gibbon M = Edward Gibbon, Memoirs of the Life, ed. Birkbeck Hill. L 1900.
Gilbert = W. S. Gilbert, Original Plays. First Series. L 1884.
Gissing B = George Gissing, Born in Exile. L (Nelson).
G = — The New Grub Street. L 1908.
H = — The House of Cobwebs. L 1914 (Constable).
O = — The Odd Women. L (Nelson).
R = — The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft. L 1912.
Goldsm V = The Vicar of Wakefield. 2 vols. 1766 [Facsimile L 1885].
Goldsmith = Oliver Goldsmith, Globe ed. L 1889.
Gosse D = Edmund Gosse, Two Visits to Denmark. L 1912.
F = — Father and Son. L 1907.
L = — English Literature, Illustrated. L 1903.
P = — Portraits and Sketches. L 1912.
Grand T = Sarah Grand, The Heavenly Twins. L 1893.

Gr = Greek.
Grattan & Gurrey OLL = Our Living Language. L 1925.
Green H = John Richard Green, A Short History of the English People. Illustr. ed. L 1894.
Greene F = Robert Greene, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, ed. Ward. Oxf. 1887.
Gretton H = R. H. Gretton, A Modern History of the English People. L 1903.

Haggard S = Rider Haggard, She. L 1896.
Hamerton F = Philip G. Hamerton, French and English. T.
Hardy E = Thomas Hardy, The Hand of Ethelberta. T 1876.
F = — Far from the Madding Crowd. L 1906.
L = — Life's Little Ironies. L 1903.
R = — The Return of the Native. Wessex ed. L 1912.
T = — Tess of the D'Urbervilles. L 1892.
W = — Wessex Tales. L 1889.
Harraden D = Beatrice Harraden, The Scholar's Daughter. T 1906.
F = — The Fowler. L 1899.
S = — Ships that Pass in the Night. L (6d ed.).
Harrison R = Frederic Harrison, John Ruskin. L 1902.
Hart BT = Frances Noyes Hart, The Bellamy Trial (Amr). 1929 (Heinemann's Omnibus Books).
Hawth(orne) = Nathaniel Hawthorne, Works. N. Y. 1900.
S = — The Scarlet Letter. L 1903.
Sn = — The Snow Image and other Twice-Told Tales. N. Y. n. d. (Caldwell).
T = — Tanglewood Tales. L n. d. (Warne).
Hay B = [John Hay,] The Breadwinners. T 1883.
Hazlitt A = William Hazlitt, Liber Amoris (Routledge).
Henley B = William E. Henley and Stevenson, Beau Austin. L.
Burns = — Centenary ed. of Burns.
Hergesheimer MB = Joseph Hergesheimer, Mountain Blood. L 1922.
Herrick M = Robert Herrick, Memoirs of an American Citizen. N. Y. 1905.
Hewlett F = Maurice H. Hewlett, The Forest Lovers. L 1910.
Q = — The Queen's Quair. L 1904.
Heywood P = John Heywood, The Four PP (Manly I 483 ff.). — Line.
Pr = — A Dialogue of the Effectual Proverbs . . . concerning Marriage (1562), ed. J. S. Farmer. L 1906.

Holmes A = Oliver W. Holmes, The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table. L 1904.
Hope C = Anthony Hope [Hawkins], Comedies of Courtship. T 1896.
Ch = — A Change of Air. T 1893.
D = — Dolly Dialogues. L 1894.
F = — Father Stafford. L 1900 (6d ed.).
In = — Intrusions of Peggy. L 1907 (Nelson).
M = — A Man of Mark. L (6d ed.).
Q = — Quisanté. L (Nelson).
R = — Rupert of Hentzau. T 1898.
Z = — The Prisoner of Zenda. L 1894.
Housman J = Laurence Housman, John of Jingalo. L 1912.
Howells S = W. D. Howells, The Rise of Silas Lapham. T.
Hughes T1 = Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School-Days. L 1886.
T2 = — Tom Brown at Oxford. L 1886.
Hunt A = Leigh Hunt, Autobiography (World's Classics).
Huxley L = T. Huxley, Life and Letters 1—2. L 1900.
LS = — Lectures and Lay Sermons (Everyman).
AHuxley Jest. Pil. = Aldous Huxley, Jesting Pilate (Phoenix Libr.).
ib = ibidem (same work).
id = idem (same author).
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
inf = infinitive.
ing = verbal substantive in *-ing*.
Jackson S = Holbrook Jackson, Bernard Shaw. L 1907.
Jacobs L = W. W. Jacobs, The Lady of the Barge. L (Nelson).
James A = Henry James, The American. T.
RH = — Roderick Hudson. L (Nelson).
S = — The Soft Side. L 1900.
TM = — Two Magics. L.
Jameson F = Storm Jameson, Farewell to Youth. L 1928.
Jenkins B = Herbert Jenkins, Bindle. L 1916.
Jerome T = Jerome K. Jerome, Three Men in a Boat. L 1889.
Jerrold C = Douglas Jerrold, Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures. L.
Jevons L = W. Stanley Jevons, Elementary Lessons in Logic. L 1885.
Johnson L = Samuel Johnson, Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets. L (4 vols.) 1781.
R = — Rasselas, ed. Birkbeck Hill. Oxf. 1887.
Johnston O = Mary Johnston, By Order of the Company. L 1914.
Jonson, see BJo.
Joyce Ir = P. W. Joyce, English as we speak it in Ireland. L 1910.

Kaye Smith GA = Sheila Kaye Smith, Green Apple Harvest. L 1923.
HA = — The End of the House of Alard. L 1923.
T = — Tamarisk Town. L 1923.
Keats = John Keats, The Complete Works, ed. Buxton Forman. Glasgow 1900.
Kennedy CN = Margaret Kennedy, The Constant Nymph. T.
R = — Red Sky at Morning. L 1927.
Ker E = W. P. Ker, English Literature, Medieval. L 1912.
Kidd S = Benjamin Kidd, Social Evolution. L 1894.
Kinglake E = A. W. Kinglake, Eothen, ed. Hogarth & Collins. Oxf. 1914.
King's E = The King's English, by Fowler. Oxf. 1906.
Kingsley H = Charles Kingsley, Hypatia. L n. d.
Kipling B = Rudyard Kipling, Barrack-Room Ballads. 1892 (Engl. Libr.).
J1 = — The Jungle Book. 1897 (Engl. Libr.).
J2 = — The Second Jungle Book. T 1897.
K = — Kim (Pocket ed. 1908).
L = — The Light that Failed (Engl. Libr.).
MOP = — Mine Own People (Engl. Libr.).
P = — Puck of Pook's Hill. T.
S = — Stalky & Co. T.
ST = — Soldiers Three. T.
Knecht K = Jacob Knecht, Die Kongruenz zwischen Subjekt und Prädikat. Heidelberg 1911.
Krapp CG = G. P. Krapp, Comprehensive Guide to Good English. N. Y. 1927.
Krüger = Gustav Krüger, Schwierigkeiten des Englischen. Dresden und Leipzig 1897 ff.
Lamb E = Charles Lamb, The Essays of Elia. L 1899 (Dent).
R = — Rosamund Gray. L 1905.
Landor C = Walter S. Landor, Imaginary Conversations, ed. Havelock Ellis. L 1886.
P = — Pericles and Aspasia, ed. id. L n. d.
Lang C = Andrew Lang, Custom and Myth. L 1893.
E = — Essays in Little. L 1891.
T = — Tennyson. 1904.
Lat = Latin.
Lawrence L = D. H. Lawrence, The Ladybird. L 1923.
LG = — The Lost Girl. L 1920.
Lay = Layamon, ed. E. Madden.
Lecky D = William E. H. Lecky, Democracy and Liberty. L 1896.
Le Gallienne Y = Richard Le Gallienne, Young Lives. L.
Lewes H = George H. Lewes, History of Philosophy. L 1893.

Lewis B = Sinclair Lewis, Babbitt. L 1922.
EG = — Elmer Gantry. L 1927.
MA = — Martin Arrowsmith. L 1926.
MS = — Main Street. L 1923.
Locke A = William J. Locke, The Joyous Adventures of Aristide Pujol. Cheap ed. n. d.
BV = — The Beloved Vagabond.
D = — Derelicts (1897). Cheap ed.
FS = — Far-away Stories. Cheap ed. L n. d.
GP = — The Great Pandolfo. L 1925.
Ordeyne = — The Morals of Marcus Ordeyne. L 1906.
S = — Septimus. L 1916.
SJ = — Simon the Jester. L 1910.
St = — A Study in Shadows. L n. d.
W = — The Wonderful Year. 1916.
London A = Jack London, Adventure. L 1911.
C = — The War of the Classes. N. Y. 1905.
F = — The Faith of Men. L 1904.
M = — Martin Eden. L 1915 (Popular ed.).
V = — The Valley of the Moon. L 1914.
W = — White Fang. L 1908.
Longfellow = Henry W. Longfellow, Poetical Works. L 1881.
Lounsbury SU = Thomas R. Lounsbury, The Standard of Usage in English. N. Y. 1908.
Lowell = James R. Lowell, Poetical Works in one vol. L 1892 (MM).
St = — My Study Windows. L n. d. (Scott).
Lowndes Ivy = Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, The Story of Ivy. T 1928.
Lubbock P = John Lubbock, The Pleasures of Life. L (6d ed.).
Lyly C = John Lyly, Campaspe, in Manly, Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama. Boston 1900 (Page).
Rose Mac(aulay) DA = Dangerous Ages (Collins 1/- Libr.).
K = Keeping up Appearances. T.
O = Orphan Island. L 1924.
P = Potterism. L 1922.
T = Told by an Idiot. L 1923.
Mac(aulay) B = Thomas B. Macaulay, Biographical Essays. T.
E = — Essays, Critical and Historical. T.
H = — History of England. T.
L = — Life and Letters, by Trevelyan (Nelson).
MacCarthy = Justin MacCarthy, A History of Our Own Times. N. Y. 1880.
Macdonald F, see Franklin.

MacGill Ch = Patrick MacGill, Children of the Dead End. L 1914.
Mackenzie C = Compton Mackenzie, Carnival. L 1922.
PR = — Poor Relations. L 1919.
RR = — Rich Relatives. L 1921.
S = — Sinister Street. L 1914 (2 vols.).
Maclaren A = Ian Maclaren [John Watson], The Days of Auld Langsyne. L 1896.
Mal = Malory.
Malet C = Lucas Malet [Mary Harrison], Sir Richard Calmady. L 1901.
Mal(ory) = Thomas Malory, Morte D'Arthur, ed. O. Sommer. L 1889.
Mandv = Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, ed. Halliwell. L 1883.
Marl(owe) [also Ml] E = Christopher Marlowe, Edward the Second, ed. Tucker Brooke. Oxf. 1910.
F = — Doctor Faustus.
J = — The Jew of Malta.
T = — Tamburlaine.
All in Breymann & Wagner's ed. Heilbronn 1885 ff.
H = — Hero and Leander, ed. Tucker Brooke. Oxf. 1910.
Masefield C = John Masefield, Captain Margaret. L n. d. (Nelson).
E = — The Everlasting Mercy. L 1912.
M = — Multitude and Solitude. L n. d. (Nelson).
S = — Sard Harker. L 1924.
W = — The Widow in the Bye-Street. L 1912.
Mason R = A. E. W. Mason, Running Water. L.
Massinger N = New Way to Pay Old Debts (in Gayley, Repres. Eng. Com. III).
Masterman WL = W. S. Masterman, The Wrong Letter. L 1926.
Matthews A = Brander Matthews, The American of the Future. N. Y. 1909.
F = — His Father's Son. N. Y. 1896.
Maugham PV = W. Somerset Maugham, The Painted Veil. L 1925.
TL = — The Trembling of a Leaf. T 1923.
Maurier T = George Du Maurier, Trilby. L 1894.
Maxwell BY = W. B. Maxwell, The Case of Bevan Yorke. L 1927.
EG = — Elaine at the Gates. L 1924.
F = — Fernande. T 1926.
G = — Gabrielle. L 1926.
S = — Spinster of this Parish. L 1922.

McKenna M = Stephen McKenna, Midas & Son. L 1919.
Ninety = — Ninety-six Hours' Leave. L 1917.
S = — Sonia. L (Methuen).
Sh = — Sheila Intervenes. L 1918.
SM = — Sonia Married. L 1918.
SS = — The Sixth Sense. L 1918.

McKnight EW = McKnight, English Words and their Background. N. Y 1923.

ME = Middle English.

Mencken AL = H. L. Mencken, The American Language, 3rd ed. N. Y. 1923.

Mered E = George Meredith, The Egoist. L 1892.
H = — Evan Harrington. L 1889.
R = — The Ordeal of Richard Feverel. L 1895.
T = — The Tragic Comedians. L 1893.

Merm. = The Mermaid Series of the Old Dramatists.

Merriman S = H. Seton Merriman [H. S. Scott], The Sowers. L 1905.
V = — The Vultures. L 1902.
VG = — The Velvet Glove.

Mi, see Milton.

Mill L = John Stuart Mill, On Liberty. L 1859.

Milne P = Milne, Mr. Pym Passes By.

Mi(lton) A = John Milton, Areopagitica, ed. Hales. Oxf. 1898. Poetical Works from H. C. Beeching's ed. Oxf. 1900: C = Comus; PL = Paradise Lost; PR = Paradise Regained; S = Sonnets; SA = Samson Agonistes. Other titles occasionally abbreviated. Pr = English Prose Writings, ed. H. Morley. L 1889.

Ml, see Marlowe.

MM = Macmillan.

ModE (or MnE) = Modern English.

Moore L = George Moore, The Lake. L 1921.

More U = Thomas More, Utopia, Robinson's transl. ed. J. H. Lupton. Oxf. 1895 (A = Arber's reprint of 2d ed.).

Morley M = John Morley, Miscellanies. L 1886.

Morris C = William Morris, Signs of Change. L 1888.
E = — The Earthly Paradise. L 1890.
N = — News from Nowhere. L 1908.

Mulock H = Dinah Mulock [Mrs. Craik], John Halifax Gentleman. T.

Murray D = James A. H. Murray, The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland. L 1873.

NED = A New English Dictionary, by Murray, Bradley, Craigie, Onions. Oxf. 1884 ff.

Neg. = Otto Jespersen, Negation in English. Copenhagen 1917.

Norris O = Frank Norris, The Octopus. L 1908 (Nelson).
P = — The Pit. L 1908 (ib).
S = — Shanghaied. L (ib).
North = North's Plutarch, facsimile ed.
NP = Newspaper (or periodical; among those most frequently quoted are The Times, Daily News, Daily Chronicle, Westminster Gazette, The Tribune; New York Times; Evening News; Everyman; Public Opinion; The Outlook; The Bookman; Review of Reviews; The World's Work).
OE = Old English.
OF = Old French.
OHenry = The Best of O. Henry. N. Y. n. d.
Onions AS = C. T. Onions, An Advanced English Syntax. Oxf.
Oppenheim Laxw = E. Phillips Oppenheim, Mr. Laxworthy's Adventures. L 1913.
Oros. = Orosius, ed. Sweet.
Orr L = Mrs. Orr, Life of Robert Browning. L 1891.
Osborne = The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to W. Temple, ed. Moore Smith. 1928.
Otway = Thomas Otway, The Orphan and Venice Preserved, ed. McClumpha. Boston (1904?).
Page J = Thomas Nelson Page, John Marvel Assistant. N. Y. 1909.
Palm P = Birger Palm, The Place of the Adjective Attribute. Lund 1911.
Palmer Gr. = H. E. Palmer, A Grammar of Spoken English. 1924.
Parker R = Gilbert Parker, The Right of Way. L 1906.
Pascoe PS = C. E. Pascoe, Everyday Life in our Public Schools. L n. d.
Pater P = Walter Pater, Imaginary Portraits. L 1887.
R = — The Renaissance. L 1912.
Payn S = James Payn, Sunny Stories. L.
Payne Al = L. W. Payne, Word-List from East Alabama (University of Texas). 1909.
PE = Present English.
Peacock S = Thomas L. Peacock, Memoirs of Shelley, ed. Brett-Smith. L 1909.
Pegge Anecd = S. Pegge, Anecdotes of the English Language, 2nd ed. 1814.
Peele D = George Peele, David and Bethsabe, in Manly's Specimens of Pre-Shakespearean Drama II (page).
pf = perfect.
PG = Otto Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar. L 1924.
Philips L = F. C. Philips, As in a Looking-Glass. T 1886.
Phillips P = Stephen Phillips, Paolo and Francesca. L 1900.

Phillpotts GR = Eden Phillpotts, The Gray Room. T 1922.
K = — The Three Knaves. L 1912.
M = — The Mother. L 1908.
PhSt = Phonetische Studien. Marburg.
Pinero B = Arthur W. Pinero, The Benefit of the Doubt. L 1895.
M = — The Magistrate. L 1897.
Q = — The Gay Lord Quex. L 1900.
S = — The Second Mrs. Tanqueray. L 1895.
pl = plural.
plpf = pluperfect.
PMLA = Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
Poe = Edgar Allan Poe, Works. L 1872.
S = — Selections. L (1887?, Cassell's Red Libr.).
Pope = Alexander Pope, Poetical Works, Globe ed. L 1892.
Poutsma = H. Poutsma, A Grammar of Late Modern English. 2nd ed. 1928; the later volumes in 1st ed.
pple = participle.
prep. = preposition.
Priestley B = J. B. Priestley, Benighted. L 1929.
G = — The Good Companions. L 1930.
prs = present.
prt = preterit.
Progr = Otto Jespersen, Progress in Language. L 1894.
ptc = participle.
Q = quarto.
(q) = quoted second-hand.
Quiller-Couch M = Arthur T. Quiller-Couch, Major Vigoureux. L 1907. Cp. Couch.
T = — Troy Town. L.
Quincey = Thomas De Quincey, Confessions of an Opium-Eater, etc. L 1901 (MM).
Raleigh M = Walter A. Raleigh, Milton. L.
S = — Style. L.
Sh = — Shakespeare. L 1907.
Rea Six = Lorna Rea, Six Mrs. Greenes. L 1929.
Read K = Opie Read, A Kentucky Colonel.
Redford W = John Redford, Wyt and Science in Manly Specimens I 421 ff. Verse. ab. 1530 (NED).
Rehearsal = George Villiers, The Rehearsal (Arber).
Richardson G = Sir Charles Grandison. L.
Ridge B = William Pett Ridge, 69 Birnam Road. L 1907.
G = — Name of Garland. T.
L = — Lost Property. L 1902.
N = — Nearly Five Million. L 1907.
S = — A Son of the State. L (6d ed.).

Ritchie M = Anne Thackeray Ritchie, Chapters from some Memoirs. T 1896.
Roberts M = Morley Roberts, The Private Life of Henry Maitland. L 1912.
[Leigh] Rogers, Wine of Fury (Grant Richards 1924).
Roister = [Udall,] Ralph Roister Doister (Arber).
Roosevelt A = Theodore Roosevelt, American Ideals. N. Y. 1901.
Rossetti = Dante G. Rossetti, Poetical Works in one vol. L 1893.
RoR = Review of Reviews (generally quoted as NP).
Royce R = Josiah Royce, Race Questions. N. Y. 1908.
Ru(skin) C = John Ruskin, The Crown of Wild Olive. L 1904.
F = — Fors Clavigera, Readings. L 1902.
P = — Praeterita. L 1907.
S = — Sesame and Lilies. L 1904.
Sel = — Selections, 2 vols. L 1893.
T = — Time and Tide. L 1904.
U = — Unto This Last. L 1895.
Salt Joy = Sarah Salt, Joy is my Name. L 1929.
Savage OW = R. H. Savage, My Official Wife. T 1891.
Sb = substantive.
Sc = Scotch.
Schreiner T = Olive Schreiner, Trooper P. Halket. L 1897.
Scott A = Walter Scott, The Antiquary. Edinb. 1821.
Iv = — Ivanhoe (Everyman).
P = — Poetical Works (Globe ed.).
Seeley E = John R. Seeley, The Expansion of England. L 1883.
L = — Lectures and Essays. L 1895.
sg = singular.
Sh = William Shakespeare. Abbreviations of Plays, etc., as in Schmidt's Shakespeare-Lexikon (As = As You Like It. R2 = Richard the Second. H4A = First Part of Henry the Fourth. Tp = Tempest, etc. Wint (not WT) = Winter's Tale. Lines numbered as in the Globe ed. Spelling as in the Folio of 1623.—[Sh?] E3 = Edward the Third, ed. by Warnke and Proescholdt. Halle 1886.
Sh-lex. = Alexander Schmidt, Shakespeare-Lexicon. 3d ed. Berlin 1902.
Shaw 1 = G. Bernard Shaw, Plays. Unpleasant. L 1898.
2 = — Plays. Pleasant. L 1898.
A = — Androcles and the Lion, etc. L 1916.
B = — John Bull's Other Island. L 1907.
C = — Cashel Byron's Profession. L 1901.
D = — The Doctor's Dilemma. L 1911.
F = — Fabianism. L.
Ibsen = — The Quintessence of Ibsenism. L.

Shaw IW = G. Bernard Shaw, An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism. L 1928.
J = — John Bull's Other Island. L 1907.
StJ = — Saint Joan. L 1924.
M = — Man and Superman. L 1903.
P = — Three Plays for Puritans. L 1901.
Shelley = Percy Bysshe Shelley, Poetical Works, ed. Hutchinson.
L = — Letters, ed. Ingpen. L 1909.
P = — [Prose], Essays and Letters. L (Camelot).
PW = — Prose Works, 1—2, ed. R. H. Shepherd. L 1912.
Mary Shelley F = Frankenstein (Everyman).
Sher(idan) = Richard B. Sheridan, Dramatic Works. T.
Sidney A = Philip Sidney, Apologie for Poetrie (Arber).
Sinclair R = Upton Sinclair, The Industrial Republic. L 1907.
Smedley F = Frank Smedley, Frank Fairleigh. T.
Sonnenschein = E. A. Sonnenschein, A New English Grammar. Oxford 1921.
Spect = [Addison, etc.] The Spectator, ed. Morley. L 1888.
Spencer A = Herbert Spencer, Autobiography. L 1904.
E = — Essays. L 1883.
Ed = — On Education. L 1882.
F = — Facts and Comments. L.
M = — Man versus the State. L 1884.
Spenser FQ = Edmund Spenser, Faery Queen, in Globe ed.
Spies KS = H. Spies, Kultur und Sprache im neuen England. Lpz. 1925.
Stacpoole C = Stacpoole, Cottage.
StE = Standard English.
Stedman O = A. M. M. Stedman, Oxford. L 1887.
Steel F = Flora A. Steel, On the Face of the Waters. L.
Stev(enson) A = Robert Louis Stevenson, The Art of Writing. L 1905.
B = — The Black Arrow. L 1904.
C = — Catriona. L.
D = — The Dynamiter. L 1895.
JH = — Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. T 1886.
JHF = — Dr. Jekyll, etc., and Other Fables. L 1896.
K = — Kidnapped. L 1886.
M = — The Merry Men. L 1896.
MB = — Men and Books. L 1901.
MP = — Memoirs and Portraits. L 1900.

Stev(enson) T = Robert Louis Stevenson, Treasure Island (Cassell).
U = — Underwoods. L 1894.
V = — Virginibus Puerisque. L 1894.
Sterne = Laurence Sterne, Works. L 1885 (Nimmo).
sth = something.
Stockton R = Francis R. Stockton, Rudder Grange (6d ed.).
Stoffel Int = Cornelis Stoffel, Intensives and Downtoners. Heidelberg 1901.
S = — Studies in English. Zutphen 1894.
Storm EPh = Johan Storm, Englische Philologie. Leipzig 1892, 1896.
Strachey EV = Lytton Strachey, Eminent Victorians. L 1926 (Phoenix Libr.).
QV = — Queen Victoria. L 1928 (ib).
Straw = Jack Straw, ed. H. Schütt. Heidelberg 1901.
Street A = G. S. Street, Autobiography of a Boy. L 1894.
E = — Episodes. L 1895.
Sutro F = Alfred Sutro, Five Little Plays. L 1912.
Sweet E = Henry Sweet, Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch. Leipzig 1886.
NEG = — A New English Grammar. Oxf. 1892, 1898.
P = — A Primer of Spoken English. Oxf. 1890.
S = — The Practical Study of Languages. L 1899.
Swift = Jonathan Swift, Works. Dublin 1785.
J = — Journal to Stella, ed. Aitken. L 1901.
P = — Polite Conversation, ed. Saintsbury. 1892.
T = — The Tale of a Tub. L 1760.
UL = — Unpublished Letters of Dean Swift, ed. Birkbeck Hill. L 1899.
Swinburne A = Algernon Charles Swinburne, Atalanta in Calydon, etc. T.
E = — Erechtheus. L 1876.
L = — Love's Cross Currents. T 1905.
SbS = — Songs before Sunrise. L 1903.
Sh = — A Study of Shakespeare. L.
T = — Tristram of Lyonesse. L 1884.
Swinnerton S = Frank Swinnerton, Summer Storm. T 1927.
Tarkington F = Booth Tarkington, The Flirt. L (Hodder & Stoughton).
MA = — The Magnificent Ambersons. N. Y. 1918.

Tenn(yson) = Alfred Tennyson, Poetical Works in one vol. L 1894.
L = — Life and Letters. T.
Thack B = William M. Thackeray, Burlesques. L 1869.
E = — Henry Esmond. T.
H = — History of Sam. Titmarsh and The Great Hoggarty Diamond. L 1878.
N = — The Newcomes. L 1901.
P = — The History of Pendennis. 1 vol. ed., sometimes quoted from the Tauchnitz ed. 3 vols.
S = — The Book of Snobs. L 1900.
Sk = — Sketches and Travels in London. L 1901.
V = — Vanity Fair. L 1890 (Minerva).
Thenks = Thenks Awf'lly. Sketches in Cockney. L 1890.
Thomson S = James Thomson, The Seasons, etc., ed. J. L. Robertson. Oxf. 1881.
Tracy P = L. Tracy, The Park Lane Mystery. L (1924?).
Trampe Bødtker C = Critical Contrib. to Early Engl. Syntax. Christiania 1908.
Trelawny R = E. J. Trelawny, Recollections of Shelley, etc.
Trollope A = Anthony Trollope, Autobiography (World's Classics).
B = — Barchester Towers (Bohn's Libr.).
D = — The Duke's Children. T.
O = — An Old Man's Love. T.
W = — The Warden. L 1913 (Bohn's Libr.).
Twain H = Mark Twain [Samuel Clemens], Huckleberry Finn. T.
M = — Life on the Mississippi. L 1887.
Tylor A = Edward B. Tylor, Anthropology. L 1881.
US = United States of America.
Vachell H = Horace A. Vachell. The Hill. L 1905.
VaV (also Vices & V.) = Vices and Virtues, ed. Holthausen.
vb = verb.
vg = vulgar.
Walker L = Hugh Walker, Literature of the Victorian Era.
O = — Outlines of Victorian Literature. Cambr. 1913.
Walpole C = Hugh Walpole, The Cathedral. L 1922.
DF = — The Dark Forest. L (Nelson).
DW = — The Duchess of Wrex.
F = — Fortitude.
GM = — The Green Mirror.
OL = — The Old Ladies. T.
RH = — Portrait of a Man with Red Hair. L 1925.

Walpole SC = Hugh Walpole, The Secret City.
ST = — The Silver Thorn. T 1928.
W = — Wintersmoon. L 1928.
Walton A = Izaak Walton, The Compleat Angler. 1653.
Ward D = Mrs. Humphrey Ward, David Grieve. T 1892.
E = — Eleanor. L 1900.
F = — Fenwick's Career. L 1906.
M = — The Marriage of Wm. Ashe. L (Nelson).
R = — Robert Elsmere. T.
Washington U = Booker Washington, Up from Slavery. N. Y. 1905.
Wells A = H. G. Wells, Anticipations. L 1902.
B = — Bealby. Conard. 1915.
Bish = — The Soul of a Bishop. L.
Blw = — Mr. Bletchworthy on Rampole Island. T 1929.
Br = — Mr. Britling Sees it Through. L 1916.
Cl = — The World of William Clissold. L 1926.
EL = — An Englishman Looks at the World. T.
F = — The Future in America. L 1907.
Fm = — The First Men in the Moon. L (Nelson).
H = — The Wife of Sir Isaac Harman. L 1914.
JP = — Joan and Peter. L 1918.
L = — Love and Mr. Lewisham. L 1900.
M = — Mankind in the Making. L 1903.
Ma = — Marriage. T.
N = — The New Machiavelli. L 1911.
Par = — Mr. Parman. L 1930.
PF = — The Passionate Friends. L (1922?).
T = — Twelve Stories and a Dream. L (6d ed.).
TB = — Tono-Bungay. T.
TM = — The Time Machine. L 1895.
TM^x = — — Cheap ed. 1911.
V = — Ann Veronica. L 1909.
WW= — The War of the Worlds. L 1912 (Nelson).
Westermarck M = Edward Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage. L 1894.
White N = Percy White, The New Christians. T.
Whitman L = Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass. Boston 1898.
Whittier = John Greenleaf Whittier, Poetical Works. 1904 (Oxf. ed.).
Wilde D = Oscar Wilde, The Picture of Dorian Gray. N. Y. n. d.
H = — The Happy Prince. L 1889.
Im = — The Importance of Being Earnest. L n. d.
In = — Intentions. 1891 (Engl. Libr.).
L = — Lord Arthur Saville's Crime. T.

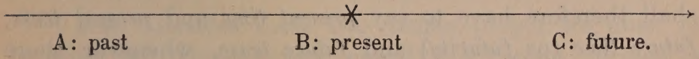
Wilde P = Oscar Wilde, De Profundis. L 1905.
R = — The Ballad of Reading Gaol. L 1898.
S = — Sebastian Melmoth. L 1904.
Wilkins P = Wilkins, Pericles, ed. Mommsen. Oldenburg 1857.
Williamson L = C. N. & A. M. Williamson, The Lightning Conductor. L (Nelson).
P = — The Princess Passes. L (ib).
Wister G = Owen Wister, General Grant.
Wordsw(orth) = William Wordsworth, Poetical Works, ed. Hutchinson (The Oxf. ed.). (Sometimes from Macmillan's one-vol. ed. L).
Lit = William Wordsworth, Literary Criticism. L 1905 (Frowde).
P = — The Prelude (Book and line).
Worth S = Nicholas Worth, The Southerner. N. Y. 1909.
Wright R = Elizabeth Mary Wright, Rustic Speech and Folk-lore. Oxf. 1913; cf. EDD.
Wülfing = J. Ernst Wülfing, Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Großen. Bonn 1894—1901.
Yonge G = Charlotte M. Yonge, A Book of Golden Deeds. L.
Zangwill G = Israel Zangwill, The Grey Wig. L 1903.

Chapter I.
Introductory.

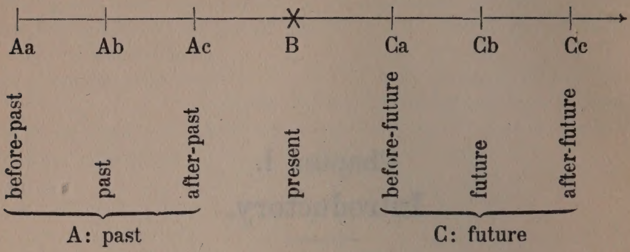
Time and Tense.

1.1. It is important to keep the two concepts time and tense strictly apart (see PG ch. XIX and XX). The former is common to all mankind and is independent of language; the latter varies from language to language and is the linguistic expression of time-relations, so far as these are indicated in verb forms; but in English as well as in many other languages such forms serve not only for time-relations, but also for other purposes, and very often they are inextricably confused with marks for person, mood, etc.

By the essence of time itself, or at any rate by a necessity of our thinking, we are obliged to figure to ourselves time as something having one dimension only, thus capable of being represented by one straight line. The main divisions accordingly may be arranged in the following way:



Or rather, we may say that time is divided into two parts, the past and the future, the point of division being the present moment, which like a mathematical point has no dimension, but is continually fleeting (moving to the right in our figure). Under each of the two divisions of infinite time we may refer to some point as lying either before or after the main point of which we are actually speaking. In this way we get the following seven points:



The subordinate "times" are thus orientated with regard to some point in the past (Ab) and in the future (Cb) exactly as the main times (A and C) are orientated with regard to the present moment (B).

What looks in the direction from left to right in our figure we may term *prospective*, what looks from right to left, *retrospective*.

English Tenses.

1.2. We shall now consider the tenses actually found in present-day English verbs. It should be conducive to clearness to have two sets of terms, one for notional time, and the other for grammatical tense, and to keep them strictly apart. This is possible in English for section A, where we can use the term *past* for the time division, and *preterit* for the tense found, e. g., in *was*, *drank*, *called*; but unfortunately it is not possible to have such simple terms for the other divisions, and we shall therefore have to say *present time* and *present tense*, *future time* (or *futurity*) and *future tense*, whenever there is any fear of misunderstanding. (In German and Danish it is possible to distinguish between *jetztzeit (gegenwart)*, *zukunft*, *nutid*, *fremtid*, on the one hand, and *præsens*, *futurum* on the other).

The necessity for keeping these two categories apart will be seen in many places below; here I shall provisionally mention the fact that the present tense refers to futurity in "I start to-morrow" and to some time in the past in "Up I start and say . . ."; and that the preterit refers to the present time in "I wish I had money enough; if I had ten shillings, I should give you five" and to futurity in "It is time he went to bed".

1.3. The English verb has only two tenses proper, distinguished by the form itself, namely the Present and the Preterit.

The Present tense is identical with the crude verb form (common form) = the infinitive, imperative and (present) subjunctive. To this is added *-(e)st* in the *thou*-form of the second person singular (obsolete in colloquial speech), and [z, s, iz] in the third person singular, as in *goes* [gouz], *eats* [i·ts], *kisses* [kisiz]. For details and irregularities, like *have*: *has*, *hast*; *be*: *am*, *art*, *is*, *are* see Morphology. The following verbs add no *s* in the third person: *can*, *may*, *must*, *shall*, *will*; *need* and *dare* are found both with and without *s*.

The Preterit is formed either by the ending [d, t, id] as in *called* [kɔ·ld], *looked* [lukt], *handed* [hændid], irregular [t] as in *dwelt* [dwelt], *sent* [sent], [d] or [t] with change of the kernel as in *told* [tould], *brought* [brɔ·t], —or else without this ending as in *put* [put], *drank* [dræŋk], *saw* [sɔ·], etc. Details will be found in the Morphology volume.

On *must, need*, *dare*, *use* as preterits see 1.6 ff.

Tense-Phrases.

1.4. Besides these two tenses proper we must recognize two tense-phrases, namely the Perfect, formed by means of the present tense of the auxiliary *have* + the second participle: *I have written*, *he has written*, etc., and the Pluperfect (or Antepreterit) formed by the preterit of the same auxiliary and the second participle: *I had written*, *he had written*, etc. On the use of the auxiliary *be* in *I am gone*, *I was gone*, etc. see ch. III.

Some verbs have no second participles, and therefore cannot form perfects and pluperfects in this way. Most of them belong to the class termed perfecto-present verbs (generally, but not so correctly: preterit-present), because what has been since the oldest English times used as a present tense, historically is formed like the old Aryan perfects; they are extensively used as auxiliaries. These verbs and the substitutes used for the missing perfects are the following:

he *can*: he has been able to.

he *may*: he has been allowed to.

he *must*: he has had to, has been bound to, has been obliged to.

he *ought to*: it has been his duty to.

he *shall* (no substitute).

he *will*: he has been willing to.

These substitutes do not, however, represent exactly the same shades of meaning as the verbs themselves.

The same verbs have no infinitive, cf. 22.9(3).

1.5(1). By the side of these tenses and tense-phrases we have the Expanded Present: *am writing.*
Preterit: *was writing.*
Perfect: *have been writing.*
Pluperfect: *had been writing.*

1.5(2). It is customary to admit into the English tense-system also a Future tense (or tense-phrase) as in *I shall write*, *he will write*, and a "Future Perfect" or Futurum Exactum, better Antefuture, as in *I shall have written, he will have written.* But these combinations should not be put on the same footing as the Perfect and Pluperfect, still less as the simple Present and Preterit. Neither the form nor the function has here the same fixity as in the case of *have written*: this phrase is used for one purpose only, that of the "tense" called Perfect, and conversely the Perfect is only expressed in this way, while *will write* in many combinations expresses will (volition) in the present time (and a fixed habit or obstinacy in "boys will be boys"), and on the other hand simple futurity is expressed in many other ways as well. It is really easier to make even school-boys understand these things if we restrict the tense-terms as is done here, and then take such a verb as *will* and show how the full meaning of volition is weakened or obliterated, e. g. in "it will probably rain to-morrow"—than if we present them with the traditional complicated scheme of tenses with *would have written* as "Future Perfect in the Past", etc. In Palmer's *Grammar of Spoken English*, p. 124, we find a system of 26 tenses of the finite verb "according to traditional usage" (16 in the active, and 10 in the passive), but it would be possible on the same principles to find out even more tenses; indeed A. D. Sheffield, *Grammar and Thinking* (New York 1912), p. 134, has $10 + 4 + 10 + 6 = 30$ active tenses, though some of them are enclosed in parentheses.

In the following chapters we shall now consider each of these tenses separately in its various functions, and then inversely start from the notional time divisions and see the various ways in which each of them is expressed in English.

Exceptional Identity of Present and Preterit.

1.6. I can find no more appropriate place than this to deal with a small group of verbs which have in various ways become partly or completely identical in the two tenses, present and preterit, and which have also to some extent the function as "auxiliaries" in common. (In *put*, *set*, and other verbs the forms of the two tenses are also identical, but this does not apply to the third person: *he puts*, *he put*, while the verbs here treated range themselves more or less with such old perfecto-present verbs as *can*, *shall* in having no *s* in the third person sg.)

Must.

1.6(1). *Must* is now both present and preterit through all persons, but the form descends, at any rate chiefly, from OE *mōste*, which was the preterit of the extinct verb *mōt* 'may'.

It is through the preterit of imagination (see ch. IX) that *must* has become a present tense. "The use as a present arose from the practice of employing the past subj. as a moderate, cautious, or polite substitute for the present indicative." (NED.) Cf. what is said below of *could*, *might*, *should*, *would* 9.5.

As a present we see *muste* (two syllables), for instance in Ch Parl. 539 Than semeth hit ther muste be batayle. Note the use of *moste* and *mot* in Ch B 1462 ff.: I wolde prey you for to lene me An hundred frankes . . . For certein beestes that I moste beye . . . For yet to-night thise beestes moot I beye.—It is possible that the second person of the old present tense has assisted in the development of the new present: Ch MP 8.3 Under thy lokkes *thou most* have the scalle | B 104 *thou most* for indigence Or stele, or begge, or borwe thy despence.

1.6(2). It is hardly necessary to give many examples of *must* as a present in its various meanings:

You must tell me at once | you must know that (it must be remembered that) he is old | I must say that I had forgotten | he must be very rich, since he lives in that gorgeous house | you mustn't tell anyone | must you go already?

1.6(3). With regard to the use of *must* as a preterit of reality (apart from its use in indirect or 'virtual oblique narration'—on which see below 1.6(4)) Dr. Bradley says in the NED that it is nowadays confined to the satirical or indignant use "with reference to some foolish or annoying action or some untoward event" as in "The fool must needs go and quarrel with his only friend | Just when I was busiest, that bore C. must come in and waste three hours | As soon as I had recovered from my illness, what must I do but break my leg?"

But though this dictum of the great authority is, of course, substantially true, some examples of *must* to denote a real past time have been collected by Stoffel (Engl. Studien 28. 294 ff.) and Malmstedt and Gebert as quoted by Stoffel; some of their quotations, however, are not conclusive. From my own collections I may adduce:

Sh Lr I. 1.24 there was good sport at his making, and the horson must be acknowledged | Fielding T 2.241 You will easily believe that such a life as I am now describing must be incompatible with my further progress in learning; and that in proportion as I addicted myself more and more to loose pleasure, I must grow more and more remiss in application to my studies | Mary Shelley F 213 There were no horses to be procured, and I must return by the lake | Carlyle SR 26 Warmth he found in the toils of the chace . . . but for Decoration he must have clothes | ib 88 a mighty Sphinx-riddle, which I knew so little of, yet must rede [pretty frequent in Carl., Sc?] | Di D 108 I felt uncomfortable about going down to breakfast . . . However, as it must be done, I went down | id F 222 she worked when she could, and starved when she must | Thack N 361 Having been abusing Clive extravagantly, Barnes must needs hang his head when the young fellow came in | GE Cler. Life 124 On the morrow, however, it was rainy, and every one must stay indoors; so it was resolved that . . . | Stevenson K pretty frequent (Sc?) | Dickinson C 59 we submitted because we must | Thurston; John Chilcote 40 It was the room of a man . . . who existed because he was alive, and worked because he must.

The example from Lr is better than that from Macb IV. 3.212, which is given by Franz, Bradley, etc. as a pret., but may be a present tense, cf. Schmidt's Dict. and Abbott § 314. Per. I. 4.40 is a pret., but the authorship is doubtful.

1.6(4). The following quotations belong to indirect speech as representing what someone may have had in his mind, though this is by no means certain of all of them:

Swift 3.295 I now apprehended, that I must absolutely starve | Brontë V 211 Willingly would I have kept mine [my seat] also, but Graham's desire must take precedence of my own; I accompanied him | McCarthy 2.297 One thing was certain: the Government must make a distinct move of some kind | Stevenson MB 80 He had trifled with life, and must now pay the penalty | ib 89 with open eyes he must fulfil his tragic destiny | Gissing H 37 I had no time to lose, for I must be at business by two o'clock | Hope Z 122 Sapt began to know exactly how far he could lead or drive, and when he must follow.

But in all the ordinary cases where *must* in the present is used to express compulsion or obligation, the corresponding preterit is *had to*:

We had to wait four hours at the station | in his youth he had to work hard for a living, etc.—"To say 'I must go to London yesterday' would now be a ludicrous blunder" (NED).

If we say: "In his youth he must have worked very hard," *must* is a present tense: from something not expressly stated we now draw a conclusion as to his past.

On imaginative *must* see 9.5(8).

Need.

1.7(1). This preterit is not recognized in the NED beside the regular *needed* and is therefore illustrated here by a great many quotations, first with the present infinitive, then (after ‖) without any infinitive.

Marlowe H 2.19 Wide open stood the doore, hee need not clime | Otway 201 Oh did you but know me, I need not talk thus | Defoe R 29 we found afterwards that we need not take such pains for water | ib 2.193 every plantation had a great addition of land . . . so that they need not jostle one another | id Rox 66 I had no less than five several morning dresses, so that I need never be seen twice in the same dress | Fielding 3.480 he would secure him witnesses of an alibi . . . so that he need be under no apprehension | Austen E 12 Weston need not spend a single evening alone if he did not like it (also S 32) | Brontë V 42 henceforth I need no longer be at a loss for a civil answer | Di D 474 she was so well that nobody need be uncomfortable about her | Allen W 86 There she should continue to live; why need this purely personal compact make any difference in her daily habits? | Walpole SC 100 I was happy . . . all that I need do was to live there | Caine C 307 he might go on with his work now and need think of her no more | Swinnerton S 210 it was a relief . . . to know that she need no longer keep guard upon her expression || Bennett RS 195 He often spoke more loudly than he need | Hewlett Q 64 she looked more than she said, and said more than she need | Kaye Smith HA 54 she had come home nearly an hour earlier than she need.

1.7(2). In the following sentences we have examples of the preterit *need* as an indirect (back-shifted) present (and the same may be true of some of the sentences quoted above):

Behn 324 she believed she need not fear any persecution | Defoe Rox 309 she told her plainly that she need give herself no trouble | Austen M 70 he told her that she need not distress herself (also ib 157, S 264, P 274) | Di N 367 Miss L said that Miss S needn't colour up quite so much | id DC 328 it was settled that my aunt need neither remain in town nor return (ib 516, 540) | Stevenson JHF 50 it signified that Dr. Jekyll need labour under no alarm | Ridge L 294 she was told that she need not take the trouble | Hope C 12 she observed that John need not throttle the dog | Maxwell F 179 She asked him if it need really be his last day.

1.7(3). The combination *need have* with a participle is extremely common, at any rate since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Logically this *need have done* is the equivalent of *needed (to) do* = G. *brauchte* with present infinitive, and if it were not for the other instances of *need* as a preterit, we might say that we had here a shifting of the tense element from one verb to another similar to, though the inverse of, that found below in

I shall hope to see. In some of the examples (Otway, Hunt, Collins, Carlyle, Meredith) we have decidedly imaginative (hypothetical) preterits; other sentences are more doubtful, but seem to approach that usage.

Otway 165 Could my nature Have brook'd injustice . . . I need not now thus low have bent my self | Defoe R 89 I made them much bigger than I need to have done | id M 19 he made a thousand more preambles than he need to have done | Fielding TJ 1.193 the parish need not have been in such a fluster with Molly | Austen M 390 she need not have been uneasy. There was no sign of displeasure (ib 396) | Hunt A 200 I need not have had it [hypochondria] at all had I gone at once to a physician | Di DC 177 My hat was so crushed and bent, that no old battered handleless saucepan on a dunghill need have been ashamed to vie with it | ib 592 he made the cottage smaller than it need have been | id Do 24 but he needn't have been so sharp, I thought | Collins W 432 In a less critical situation, the effort need not have been given up as hopeless, even yet | Tenn 303 Who knows if he be dead? Whether I need have fled? | Seeley E 103 the new world could not but exert a strong influence, but it need not have exerted any properly political influence upon the old | Carlyle H 12 no time need have gone to ruin, could it have found a man great enough | Meredith R 71 he need not have done it after all and might have spoilt it | Hardy L 82 the squire came farther into the dark with them than he need have done | Gissing H 95 he apologised . . . he needn't have apologised at all | Zangwill G 52 I was so startled that I was more churlish than I need have been | Wells 189 he sat closer to her than he need have done | Kipl L 146 you needn't have been so rude about it (id DW 47) | Barrie MO 244 I need not have been such a coward (ib 250) | Pinero S 61 I suppose I needn't have made that observation | Benson Dodo 162 I needn't have consulted you at all | Bennett LR 14 he made more noise than he need have made | Dreiser F 13 Why need he have made so great a mistake so long ago? | Maxwell WF 193 Why did you do that? You needn't have.

Cp. *ought to have* 10.6(4).

1.7(4). In the face of all this evidence it seems impossible to deny that the form *need* is comparatively often used as a preterit. But how is it to be explained? In ES 23. 461 (1896, thus some years before the letter N appeared in the NED) I gave some examples and suggested that we had here a case of haplology, *need* for *needed* as *wed* for *wedded* (see on haplology vol. I 7.8), but even if this may have counted for something, especially, perhaps, in the combination *needn't*, I think the chief explanation must be sought elsewhere, the more so as the full form *needed* seems always required when the verb has a substantival object, see Barrie T 123 Ailie was wearing her black silk, but without the Honiton lace, so that Miss S. I. need not become depressed . . . Mr. Cathro, who needed a great deal of room at table | Benson Dodo 164 it needed an effort to stifle | Bennett RS 195 She desperately needed counsel.

Need as a preterit is thus seen to be connected with the fact that the verb is used as an "auxiliary" before an infinitive and therefore enters into line with other verbs of the same class, to which it is formally and syntactically assimilated: it drops the *-s* (or earlier *-eth*) in the third person singular, it takes an infinitive without *to*, it is used negatively and interrogatively without *do,* and finally, like the verb of this class with which it has the greatest semantic affinity, *must*, it drops the distinction between the two tenses present and preterit. That *must* is historically a preterit that came to be used as a present, and that *need* is inversely a present used as a preterit, has of course no significance for the "naive speakers", who take the forms as they find them—and modify their uses according to more or less dimly felt analogies.

Dare.

1.8(1). Instead of the regular form *dared* (and of the obsolete *durst*) *dare* is pretty frequent as a preterit. Some examples may be seen in NED ('carelessly used', the oldest 1760), Storm 766 (Marryat), ESt 22.334 and 23.461. The chief explanation probably is that in the combination *daredn't* the sound [d] was crowded out phonetically as in *Wednesday*, vg [ɔ·nri] for *ordinary*, and similar cases, see vol. I 7.72, and that this form was then transferred to other cases. But it should be noted that through its meaning and through the optional want of *s* in the third person, of *to* before a following infinitive and of *do*, *dare* belongs to the class of auxiliary verbs, cf. what has just been said of *need*.

1.8(2). Examples with following *n't*, often of course written *not*:

Brontë W 275 I dare not go in myself just then | Thack P 613 Her restlessness wakened her bedfellows more than once. She daren't read more of Walter Lorraine: Father was at home | Kingsley H 2 A sense of awe came over him. He dare not stoop (very frequent in Kingsley) | Tennyson 605 They swore that he dare not rob the mail, and he swore that he would | Ward D 1.99 Her spirit failed her a little. She daren't climb after him in the dark | ib 2.202 There was something awful to him even in this nearness; he dare not have gone higher | Black P 2.44 He would sing songs to Sheila, and reveal to her that way of passion of which he dare not otherwise speak | Doyle Lady Sannox (in NP) He could plan what another man dare not do, and he could do what another man dare not plan | Caine M 378 every face seemed to remind her of the change. She dare not ask; she dare not speak; she dare not reveal herself | Bennett P 116 I was so upset that I daren't even go upstairs and call Sissie | Kipl NP '97 we scared the souls out of 'em with a field-force they daren't fight against.

1.8(3). Examples without a following *not* are less frequent, but nowadays not at all rare:

Brontë W 42 when the dogs came bounding up to welcome her, she dare hardly touch them | Brontë V 135 Many of the girls were not pure-minded at all; but they no more dare betray their natural coarseness in M. Paul's presence than they dare tread purposely on his corns | Kingsley H 369 | Tennyson 78 For none of all his men Dare tell him Dora waited with the child | ib 356 And Enid stood aside to wait the event, Not dare to watch the combat [strange place of *not*] | Barrie T 31 she was wondering whether she dare ask him to come to dinner | ib 75 she dare not even rock her arms, she could walk silently only | Zangwill G 378 She was jealous . . . How dare he be so gay and debonair! Her anger rose | Steele Face of the Waters 37 How could he judge? How dare he judge?

1.8(4). Imaginative *daren't* = *daredn't*:

Shaw 2.195 you know you darent have given the order if you hadnt seen us. This is written with full *not* and finally extended where no negative follows in Shaw P 10 He dare not have done it if I had been with him | A. Cosslett Smith, The Turquoise Cup 20 as though you asked the queen to sell you the Kohinoor. She dare not, if she could. She could not, if she dare.

See on imaginative *dared* and *durst* 9.5, 10.8.

Use.

1.9(1). When this verb means 'make use of' it is perfectly regular and has the voiced sound always [ju·z, ju·ziz, ju·zd]; but when it means 'be in the habit of' it enters into the class of auxiliaries and is often used negatively and interrogatively without *do*. The verb is nearly always followed by *to*, and the voiceless [t] causes assimilation of [z], so that we get the pronunciation [ju·stu] or [ju·stə] according to the following sound. This pronunciation may stand for both *use to* and *used to*, and thus the distinction between the two tenses is obliterated. In the negative combination *usedn't* the first [t] naturally tends to disappear, just as in *listen*, *hasten*, etc. (I 7.734); thus [ju·snt]. The voiceless sound is transferred to cases in which *to* does not follow immediately: one hears [hi ju·st ɔfn te kʌm] *he used often to come*; Palmer Gr 119 gives [ju·st ju· tə si· him] as the regular form. In Mrs. Browning's line "Unused, it seems, to need rise half a note" some English friends read [ʌnju·st], while an American lady read [ʌnju·zd]; she also read "To this he will never get used" [ju·zd], where the English say [ju·st] —a better word-order is "he will never get used to this"— and she preferred "he didn't use to smoke" to "he usedn't to smoke", which she declared "childish, no grown-up person in America would say so", while my English friends say that [hi ju·snt tə smouk] is better than [hi didnt ju·s tə]. Palmer says: "Some speakers . . . use such forms as [ai didnt ju·s tə gou | did ju· ju·s tə gou?]".

1.9(2). I shall now give some literary quotations for the various combinations. First, some examples of the *present tense* and the *infinitive*, where it is now impossible to use it (the phrase now is "I am in the habit of" or "I usually . . ."):

Roister 24 I vse not to kisse men | Marlowe E 2359 Relent, ha, ha, I vse much to relent | id H 2.94 he kist againe, as louers vse to do | Sh Tp II. 1.175 they alwayes vse to laugh at nothing | Wiv IV. 2.58 There they alwaies vse to discharge their birding-peeces | Ro III. 5.191 I do not vse to jest | Bacon E 63 there useth to be more trepidation in Court | Walton A 128 they use to catch trouts in the night | Mi A 38 he who uses to consider | Osborne 50 wee doe not use to differr in our inclinations | ib 12 when meer colds kill as many as a plague uses to doe | ib 13 you must use to write before hee com's [you must make it a habit to] | Swift J 150 I will use to visit him after dinner, for he dines too late for my head.

These three look suspiciously like preterits:

Villiers Rehearsal 25 How dost thou pass thy time? Well, as I use to do | Osborne 96 I am not soe much at liesure as I use to bee | Gay BP 39 you are not so fond of me, Jenny, as you use to be [later editions: used].

Use evidently preterit: Lady Giffard, Life of Sir W. Temple 4 Mr Leigh, to whom he use to say . . . | 6 he use to say the King had no imployment | 6 wch he use to say cost him afterwards so much pains (and two more passages, by the author corrected *us'd*).

1.9(3). Next, examples of *usen't* as a *preterit*:

Pinero S 189 my face is covered with little shadows that usen't to be there | Wilde W 37 I usen't to be one of her admirers, but I am now | Shaw C 11 Usent it to be a lark? | ib 193 I'm blest if I usent to have to put him up | id J 255, M 192, 202 | Hankin 2.47 Usen't we to be taught that it was our duty to love our enemies? | Benson D 2.288 Usen't the monks to keep peas in their boots? | McKenna SM 179 She used to be rather a friend of yours, usen't she? | ib 222 Usen't he to be rather lié with Sonia? | Walpole Cp 408 He usen't to preach badly once.

Kipl B 59 gives as vulgar speech: We useter watch the steamers.

The following spellings (*used* for *use*) show the influence of the confusion of the two forms:

Wells Br 74 it did used to be a willow | Stockton R 238 the stages did used to stop for supper | Lewis MS 14 I did used to think about doing just that | id MA 210 Didn't we used to have fun.

1.9(4). Though the following quotations have no direct connexion with the identity of the two tenses which occupies us here, they may find a place in this chapter:

Used without *to*: Hunt A 136 I did not stammer half so badly as I used.

Used separated from *to*: Hardy R 234 When used you to go to these places? | Benson W 26 How often used one to desire to make an impression | Shaw J 216 Used you to beat your mother? | Galsw Sw 275 Used there to be owls? | id FM 46 Used he to whack you?

Use with *did*: Carlyle FR 58 the Horn of Plenty . . . did it not use to flow? | Mackenzie C 391 [your eyes] Sort of faraway look which you didn't use to have | Galsw WM 141 I did use to read the wrappers | Canfield Her Son's Wife 226 I did sort of use to think that Ralph was different.

Use in the *perfect and pluperfect*:
Sh H4B V. 2.114 Th' vnstained sword that you haue vs'd to beare | Hml II. 2.48 as I haue vs'd to do | Wordsw P 4.202 where an old man has used to sit alone | Southey L 55 there was no sound of feet in her bedroom, to which I had been used to listen . . . I had used to carry her her food | Caine E 124 You hadn't used to be so stupid | Hardy F 114 putting lights where shadows had used to be | id R 100 a cream-coloured courser had used to visit this hill | ib 109 she had used to tease Wildeve | Butler W 349 Ellen had used to drink at Battersby | Bennett LR 128 I 'adn't used to be so refined | id Acc 214 He hadn't used to understand.

I do not print my examples of the active *use* = 'accustom' nor of the passive *be used to, get used to.*

See 5.3(2) on the semantic meaning of *used to* and on *couldn't use to* and *use(d) to could.*

Chapter II.

Present Tense.

Present Time.

2.1(1). The present tense is first used about the present time.

In the strict sense as a point without any dimension the present has little practical value, and in the practice of all languages "now" means a time with appreciable duration, the length of which varies greatly according to circumstances, the only thing required being that the theoretical zero-point falls within the period alluded to. This applies to cases like:

he is hungry | he is ill | he is dead | it rains | I love her | he runs several businesses | she plays wonderfully well (cp. she is playing wonderfully well, below ch. XII) | this system works perfectly | I buy my collars at Harrod's | our children eat very little meat | he never goes to bed till midnight | we call him Johnny | he earns five hundred a year | some people prefer music-halls to the opera | twice two is four | gold is heavier than silver | the sun rises in the east | twelve pence go to a shilling, and twenty shillings go to a pound, but where all the pounds go to, I have never been able to discover | Sh Cæs III. 2.80 the euill that men do, liues after them; The good is oft enterred with their bones | Oth III. 3.157 Who steales my purse steales trash . . . But he that filches from me my good name, Robs me of that which not enriches him, and makes me poore indeed | AV Ps 116.11 All men are lyers | Dryden: None but the brave deserves the fair.

2.1(2). These examples show a gradual transition from what is more or less momentary to "eternal truths" or what are supposed to be such—one might feel tempted here to speak of an "omnipresent" time or tense or better of generic time, but no special term is needed, and it is wrong, as is often done, to speak of such sentences as timeless. If the present tense is used, it is because they are valid now; the linguistic tense-expression says nothing about the length of duration before or after the zero-point. The definition given above covers the whole range of sentences adduced, and similarly expressions of intermittent occurrences (habits) like: I get up every morning at seven (even when spoken in the evening) | the steamer leaves every Tuesday in winter, but in summer both on

Tuesdays and Fridays: the present moment falls within the limits of what is spoken about, for the saying concerns the present arrangement.

The present is used in the same way in clause subjuncts:

Whenever he calls, he sits close to the fire | Make hay while the sun shines.

The difference between the ordinary and the generic present—gradual as the transitions between them are—is seen in the shifting and non-shifting in indirect speech, see 11.1(7).

2.1(3). We have a peculiar kind of the generic or 'omnipresent' tense in statements of what may be found at all times by readers: it says in the Bible 'thou shalt not kill' | Milton defends the liberty of the press in his Areopagitica | Darwin thinks that natural selection is the chief factor in the development of species.

2.2. To express one's feelings at what is just happening or has just happened, the present tense is usually employed:

Can you come? That's splendid! | Has he arrived? Yes. That's capital!

As, however, the feeling refers to something that has happened, or to some information received a moment before, the preterit may occasionally be used, though this has not become the rule as in Danish ("Det var storartet!" cf. for Swedish J. Kjederqvist, Ett fall af preteritum, Lund 1898).

Congreve 162 I have given Sir Paul your letter instead f his own.—That was unlucky | Di D 35 Lor! wasn't it beautiful! [= it is beautiful] | Parker R 76 Whew! That was good! | Harraden Moods 131 He drank long and deep. "That was very refreshing", he said to the stranger | Shaw 2.134 Did you speak well?—I have never spoken better in my life.—That was first rate!

With the preterit subjunctive:

Tennyson 142 What do they call you? Katie. That were strange [as if hypothetically . . . if it were true].

Past Time.

2.3(1). Next, the present tense is used in speaking of the past. This is the case in the "dramatic present" (generally called the "historic present") which is pretty frequent in connected narrative; the speaker, as it were, forgets all about time and imagines, or recalls, what he is recounting, as vividly as if it were now present before his eyes. Very often this present tense alternates with the preterit.

Gammer 100 My gammer sat her downe . . . And by-and-by . . . or she had take two stitches . . . by chaunce a-syde she leares, And Gib, our cat, in the milke-pan she spied . . . [continued in the preterit] | Sh Hml II. 1.87 He tooke me by the wrist, and held me hard; Then goes he to the length of all his arme; And with his other hand thus o're his brow, He fals to such perusall of my face, As he would draw it. Long staid he so, At last . . . He rais'd a sigh . . . That done, he lets me goe, And with his head ouer his shoulders turn'd, He seem'd to finde his way without his eyes [continued in the preterit] | ib IV. 1.9 Behind the arras, hearing something stirre, He whips his rapier out, and cries: a rat, a rat, And in his brainish apprehension killes The vnseene good old man | AV John 11.6 ff. he abode . . . Then after that, saith hee . . . His disciples say vnto him . . . Iesus answered . . . These things said hee, and after that he saith . . . | Defoe R 324 He perceived the surprize, and immediately pulls a bottle out of his pocket, and gave me a dram of cordial [the present tense seems to be due to, and gives point to, the adverb *immediately*] | id M 292 the messenger said, "There she is, sir"; at which he comes directly up to me, kisses me, took me in his arms, and embraced me | Shaw Ms 176 when we came into Jamaica Square, there was a young copper on point duty at the corner. I says to Bob . . . "Anything you like", says he . . . I stepped up to the copper. "If you please, sir", says I, "can you direct me to Carrickmines Square?" "I never heard of any such Square in these parts," he says. "Then," says I, "what a very silly little officer you must be!"; and I gave his helmet a chuck that knocked it over his eyes, and did a bunk.

Other examples of the dramatic present alternating with the preterit may be found in Sh Ado II. 3.146 ff., H5 IV. 6.11 ff., Ven 3 ff.; AV Mark 7 and 8.

2.3(2). There are some very shrewd remarks on Dickens's and Carlyle's use of the dramatic present in Vernon Lee's "The Handling of Words".

Some scholars think that the use of the dramatic present in English is due to literary influence from abroad; but I cannot help thinking that it is of popular native growth; this at any rate seems indubitable with regard to the insertion of "says he", etc., in reports of past conversations (Roister 85 say they). See PG 258, where Sweet and Einenkel are quoted, and further Steadman, *Origin of the Historical Present in English* (Studies in Philology, North Carolina vol. XIV. 1), Roloff, *Das præsens historicum im Mittelenglischen* (Gießen 1924), E. V. Gordon in *The Year's Work in Engl.* 5.95.

2.3(3). Just as we have *after hearing* = *after having heard*, we may find the present tense used with the same meaning as the perfect in a clause beginning with *after*:

Benson D 200 what happens to the sheep after they take its kidneys out? | Aldrich S 104 Sometimes of a morning, after I unlock the workshop door, I stand hesitating.

This is not so frequent as the corresponding use in speaking of the future, see 2.6(1); cf. for the preterit 5.6(1). In all these cases we see that the intrinsic meaning of *after* makes it superfluous once more to emphasize the time-relation between the two acts. (Cf. the remarks PG 264 on "economy of speech", where Latin *postquam* *urbem liquit* = ‘after he left [or had left] the town’ is mentioned.)

Future Time.

2.4(1). Finally, the present tense may be used in speaking of some future time. This was the regular practice in OE, even in connexions where it would seem necessary to express the distinction between present and future. Thus in John 14.12, where “opera quæ ego facio et ipse faciet” is rendered “he wyrcð þa weorc þe ic wyrce”.

In using the present tense in speaking of future events one disregards, as it were, the uncertainty always connected with prophesying, and speaks of something, not indeed as really taking place now, but simply as certain. In MnE, where *will* and *shall* are used very extensively, and in many cases are required, the simple present tense of a main verb is scarcely ever used in this way except when “a future action is considered as part of a programme already fixed” (Palmer Gr 144). It is therefore impossible to say, for instance, “To-morrow it rains”; the present tense implies more certainty than is possible in speaking of such a thing as the weather. Generally some tolerably definite time is either expressly indicated in the sentence itself or clearly implied by the context or situation.

2.4(2). This use is particularly frequent with verbs of motion:

Sh Ado I. 1.2 I learne in this letter, that Don Peter comes this night to Messina | Swift J 115 he goes to-morrow to Vienna | Cowper L. I. 1 to-morrow I set off for Brighthelmston | Brontë J 457 Jane, I go in six weeks; I have taken my berth in an East Indiaman which sails on the 20th of June | Di L 113 I start for Italy on Monday next | id D 751 when does the ship sail? | Merriman S 146 I leave early to-morrow morning | Shaw M 61 When do we start?

Note the simple and the expanded tense in Farnol A 472 Sir, when do we start? . . . And—where are we going, sir?

Di D 542 I'm away to-morrow; cf. the familiar "I'm off", which one says just before leaving. But note Tomlinson Y 15 She was off—meaning that she (the ship) was moving.

2.4(3). In McKenna S 350 Good-bye, old man, 'We meet in heaven, if not before' (a quotation, from where?)—"in heaven", i. e. when we die, is the required indication of time. Cp. Sh Oth III. 3.57 Shall't be to night, at supper?—No, not to night.—To morrow dinner then?—I shall not dine at home: I meete the Captaines at the Cittadell.

In this passage the mention of the meal is a sufficient indication of the time. As an invitation to a meal is "part of a fixed programme", we understand how it is that the present tense of a verb like *dine* is often found in speaking of the future time:

Massinger N II. 3.141 my Lord Lovell dines with me to morrow | Gibbon M 261 I dine [= am due to dine] to-morrow with the Chancellor | Austen P 416 I am glad he dines here on Tuesday | Pinero S 28 I meet you at dinner on Sunday.

2.4(4). It is usual to say: to-morrow is Sunday; thus also Sh R3 V. 3.18 make no delay, For Lords, to morrow is a busie day. This is combined with the *will*-phrase in As V. 3.1 To morrow is the joyful day, Audrey, to morrow will we be married | Walpole Cp 50 the Chapel . . . You will see it to-morrow. To-morrow is Sunday.

2.4(5). Other examples of the present tense = future time:

Sh Ado III. 1.100 When are you married, madame? [now rather: are you going to be married] | AV 1 Cor 15.32 let vs eate and drinke, for to morrowe wee die | By 409 Manfred! to-morrow ends thine earthly ills | Pinero S 19 Another marriage that concerns us a little takes place to-morrow | Conway C 124 "have you been long in England?" Only a couple of days. "How long do you stay?" [= is your present stay to last?] | Canfield Her Son's W. 13 Ralph graduates from the University this coming June, doesn't he? | the moon rises at eight this evening [but: the moon will soon rise, on account of the indefinite *soon*].

2.4(6). Very often in such cases the present tense alternates with *shall* or *will*:

Swift J 47 We dine together to-morrow and next day by invitation; but I shall alter my behaviour to him, till he begs my pardon, or else we shall grow bare acquaintance | Austen M 402 When shall you be ready? Does Susan go? | Di D 160 "And do you go too?" I never will desert Mr. Micawber | Swinburne L 80 I start next week, so probably I shall be at Lord Cheyne's before you | Wilde W 28 To-morrow morning I leave England. You will never see me again. This is the last time I shall ever look on you | Bennett C 2.37 To-morrow is Saturday, and I shall have a letter from her | Benson J 99 she goes away to-morrow, and I—I shall be left alone with this!

Cf. also Goldsm V 2.21 my ship sails to-morrow for Amsterdam. What if you go in her as a passenger? The moment you land, all you have to do is to teach the Dutchmen English, and I'll warrant you'll get pupils and money enough.—Note here the exact indication of time in the first sentences, but not in the last.

2.4(7). In colloquial English (chiefly in U. S.?) the present tense is pretty common after *hope*, when an immediate future is implied: (q) I hope she plays one of Mozart's sonatas.

This may be compared with the use of the present tense = present time, and of the perfect, after *hope*: I hope baby is already asleep | I hope he has paid his bill—i. e. that it will turn out later that baby is now asleep or that he has now paid.

2.4(8). *It is* in the present tense is used referring to a future event: It is here that I shall die | It is Mary that he will accuse of the theft. This usage is thus different from what takes place when the verb in the relative clause is in the preterit, for then *it was* is the general rule: It was there that he died | it was Mary that he accused of the theft.

2.5(1). In clause-subjuncts after conjunctions of time futurity need not be (and therefore rarely is) indicated by means of the tense of the verb; generally the main sentence shows unmistakably that the whole refers to the future:

Sh H4A I. 2.64 shall there be gallowes standing in England when thou art king? | ib I. 2.166 Ile be a traitor then, when thou art king | Alls I. 3.28 I shall neuer haue the blessing of God, till I haue issue o' my bodie | Austen P 71 when I have a house of my own, I shall be miserable if I have not an excellent library | Keats 5.138 By the time that you receive this your troubles will be over | Fox 2.18 there are other trumpets yet to sound before truth can get itself fully recognised | Stevenson V 145 when at last the end comes, it will come quietly and fitly | Doyle R 95 I shall have to work double tides when Laura and I are married.

2.5(2). Note the distinction between interrogative and relative *when* in Butler ER 209 We know not when he will come, but when he comes, let him not find us ungrateful, and the distinction between future and present time indicated by the same tense in Hope D 109 when you're old—because you are not really old, you know—you will say . . . (= G. wenn du alt wirst—denn du bist ja nicht wirklich alt— wirst du sagen . . .).

2.5(3). It is evident that indication of futurity is necessary if a clause with *when* does not serve to denote a point of time, but is 'continuative' (see on continuative clauses III 4.3(4), 5.4(3)):

Shelley L 601 I will write to you our plans from Pisa, when I shall understand them better myself. Thus also Hardy R 345 I will work in the garden till the evening, and then, when it will be cooler, I will walk to Blooms-End [nearly = as then it will . . .].

Thus also in continuative relative clauses after time-clauses in the present tense:

Sh H4A I. 3.294 I by letters shall direct your course, When time is ripe, which will be sodainly | Thack N 14 keep it till you see me in this place again, which will be never.

Other instances of *will* and *shall* in clauses of time will be mentioned in 16.5, 16.6(3), 18.4(3).

2.5(4). The present tense is further used in *if*-clauses with the main verb in the future:

Will you come for a walk in the afternoon if it does not rain? | Suppose Germany conquers, what will be the consequence? | Hardy R 185 Then the wedding, if it comes off, will be on the morning of the very day Clyn comes home.

But *if . . . will* implies volition, see 15.9. After interrogatory *if* we have *will* or *shall*: I don't know if it will rain in the afternoon, but if it does, I shall stay at home.

2.6(1). In clauses beginning with *after* we frequently find the present tense for what in the future referred to in the main clause will be past (before-future). This is parallel to the use mentioned in 2.3(3); it would be pedantic to say "after we shall have died" instead of "after we die".

Examples: Ch MP 5.55 And rightful folk shal go, after they dye, To heven | Sh H4A I. 2.200 our vizards wee will change after wee leaue them (cf. H4B IV. 4.25) | All I. 2.58 Let me not liue After my flame lackes oyle [when my flame has begun to lack oil] | ib IV. 3.253 | Poe S 24 after I go up and close the trap, do you creep along | Brontë V 28 Shall I ever see him again, after I leave England? | Caine P 23 we'll sign it the day after you come back | Hope Z 185 If, after he knows what I have done, I fall into his hand, I shall pray for a speedy death || Benson D 29 I shall bore you enough after we're married | Philips L 65 Lady Gage has made me promise to bring him after we are married [= ib 71 I will get £ 3000 out of Algy after I have married him] | Milne P 79 What shall we do directly after I come out? . . . [promise] not to get married till after I come out || Wilde P 125 If after I am free a friend of mine gave a feast and did not invite me to it, I should not mind a bit [= the pedantic 'after I shall have become free'].

2.6(2). We have the same use of the uncompounded tenses with *as* (obsolete *so*) *soon as*:

I shall let you know as soon as I hear from him | Sh Tw III. 4.195 so soone as euer thou seest him, draw.

2.6(3). Correspondingly with *before (ere)*:

Before thou ask = 'before thou shalt have asked': Sh Merch IV. 1.369 I pardon thee thy life before thou aske it | Swift J 466 Before this comes to your hands, you will have heard of the terrible accident | Shaw IW 386 We shall nationalize the mines long before we nationalize the village smithy || Sh Ado V. 4.120 let's haue a dance ere we are married | Collins W 65 You must leave Limmeridge House, before more harm is done.

2.6(4). And finally with *till (until)*:

Wait till the rain stops (= pedantically: 'shall have stopped') | Sh Err I. 2.10 stay there Dromio, till I come to thee | We shall have no peace, until he comes back.

Special Cases.

The use of the present tense of some verbs must be treated separately.

2.7(1). *Come* in the present tense may of course be used of repeated comings, of what will always happen, etc.:

Sh John IV. 2.76 The colour of the King doth come and go | Ro I. 4.54 Queene Mab . . . is the fairies midwife, and she comes in shape no bigger than [an] agatstone | he comes here once a week.

Come in the present tense very rarely refers to the actual moment: Sh Gent II. 3.26 (Launce representing the scene with his father) now come I to my father: Father, your blessing . . . well, hee weepes on: Now come I to my mother . . . I kisse her . . . Now come I to my sister; marke the moane she makes | Hml I. 4.38 [Enter Ghost]. Looke my Lord, it comes | Hart BT 8 Here they come!

2.7(2). On the other hand *I come* also may mean 'am come' and thus equals the perfect tense:

Sh Cæs III. 2.79 I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him | Hml I. 1.6 You come most carefully vpon your houre | Tp I. 2.189 haile: I come To answer thy best pleasure | Tennyson 464 Yet think not that I come to urge thy crimes, I did not come to curse thee, Guinevere. Cf. *came* 5.2(2).

In "Where does he come from? He comes from Yorkshire" *come* means 'originate'; the question (colloquially also: where does he hail from?) concerns his native place, while "Where has he come from?" would refer to a recent arrival.

2.7(3). But very often *come* in the present tense refers to some future time, cf. above 2.4(2).

Roister 60 When wil he be at home? His heart is here een now, His body commeth after | Sh Cæs III. 2.257 Heere was a Cæsar: when comes such another? cf. ib I. 3.36 | Merch I. 3.183 My shippes come home a month before the daie.

Very often, in older texts we find *I come*, where now *I am coming* would be used (cf. 14.1(2), immediate future):

Roister 39 yond commeth one forth now | Sh Gent II. 2.20 you are staid for. Goe: I come, I come | Wiv

III. 4.31 M. Slender would speak a word with you. I come to him [a few lines below: Shee's coming] | Macb I. 3.31 A drumme, a drumme: Macbeth doth come | Ro IV. 3.58 Romeo, I come! this do I drinke to thee.

The reason why the present tense of *come* thus rarely refers to the actual present time is of course that coming in itself is of so momentary a nature that the coming is over the moment one pronounces the word.

2.7(4). Similarly with *die*; and yet Desdemona says, Sh Oth V. 2.212 "A guiltlesse death I die," referring to the actual moment; thus also Hamlet V. 2.363 O I dye, Horatio: The potent poyson quite ore-crowes my spirit—where dying is looked upon as to some extent a protracted process. Lr II. 2.53 "Keep peace, vpon your liues, he dies that strikes againe" is a threat with regard to the future; *die* is 'omnipresent' time in Cæs II. 2.32 Cowards dye many times before their deaths.

Cf. *is dying* 14.3(1).

2.8(1). I *hear* (that), besides meaning 'I receive the information' very often means 'I have received the information', and then is = 'I have heard'. This usage, which is not recorded in the NED, is very frequent in Shakespeare and elsewhere, e. g. Wiv II. 2.186 Sir, I heare you are a schollar | Merch V. 1.137 as I heare, he was much bound for you.

Thus also: *I am told (informed)* = 'I have been told (informed)'. In these cases the information received previously is mentally transferred into the present time, because the meaning is 'I know'. This probably occurs in all languages. Further: *I see* in the papers that the King is ill | I *find* among my letters a note that concerns you, etc., which may be compared with 'it says in the Bible', above 2.1(3).

2.8(2). *I forget* primarily means 'I cease to remember; it drops out of my memory', but secondarily it means 'I do not remember', and as it thus is = 'it has dropped out of my memory', it is identical with 'I have forgotten' in sense 1. Thus *forget* is contrasted with *remember* in Goldsm 257 The names of the great man I absolutely forget, but I shall remember that Roubiliac was the statuary. Cf. Benson J 105 I forget the exact year, if ever I knew it. Thus very often colloquially.

2.9. A present tense where we should expect a preterit is often found in the phrase *the powers that be*, which is treated as one fossilized whole, because the old present indicative plural *be* is hardly understood now as such:

Troll B 19 nowhere were the powers that be so cherished as at Oxford (also ib 12) | Lounsbury SU 248 The powers that be were then talking French.

Sometimes, however, the regular preterit is found:

Butler W 187 he submitted himself to the powers that were | Rogers Wine of Fury 269 Smolney Institute, which had been taken over by the new powers that were.

Cf. the fossilized *may-be* 11.7(1).

Chapter III.

Auxiliaries of the Perfect and Pluperfect.

History.

3.1(1). In English, as in the other Gothonic languages (and in the Romanic languages), the perfect and pluperfect are formed by means of an auxiliary and the second participle. In the case of transitive verbs all these languages agree in using the verb *have* (*haben*, *avoir*, *avere*, in Spanish and Port. also the continuation of Lat. *tenere*). This *have* has sunk down, or been raised, to being a mere grammatical instrument in these combinations, as shown by its having been used (from the earliest accessible times) not only in connexion with verbs like *catch*, where its original meaning is in its place (*I have caught the fish* = I have the fish as caught), but also in all other cases,

e. g. *I have lost (forgotten, thrown away, seen) the key.* The participle at first agreed in gender and number (and case) with the object, but in all these languages it tends more and more to be used in one invariable form, because it is felt to belong more intimately to *have* than to the object, which then becomes the object not of *have*, but of the composite tense. But this development, which is not yet completed in modern French, was in English ended long before the period with which this grammar deals.

3.1(2). With intransitive verbs *have* as an auxiliary competes with *be* (*sein*, *være*, *être*, etc.). English has never gone so far as some other languages in the use of *be* and has always said *he has been*, *he has stood* (cp. *er ist gewesen*, *er ist gestanden*, *è stato*). In English *be* as an auxiliary is used chiefly with verbs of movement, but there has long been a strong tendency to use *have* in these combinations, too. This is not the place to trace this development in ME, and I shall give only a few quotations from the Prologue showing that Chaucer, though generally using *be*, already knows *have*: 7 the yonge sonne *Hath* in the Ram his halfe cours *yronne* (here *cours* is a kind of object) | 48 And therto *hadde* he *riden* (no man ferre) As wel in Cristendom as hethenesse | 286 A clerk . . . That unto logik *hadde* long *ygo.*

3.1(3). In MnE *have* is used to a greater extent than in any of the cognate languages and may now be said to be the regular auxiliary with all verbs. This extension is chiefly due to the tendency towards regularization, the same means being used in the same way everywhere, especially when it has become a pure grammatical implement without any material meaning of its own. As a secondary cause we may mention the falling together in sound of the weak forms of *has* and *is*: *he's gone*, *it's gone* may be interpreted both ways and may therefore lead to the continuation *has he? has it?* and to

I've gone, etc., by the side of or instead of *I'm gone*; cf. below 3.8.

It is, perhaps, natural that in my collections of quotations I have paid special attention to those sentences which deviate from what is now the usual practice: in the following paragraphs the reader will therefore find many more instances of *be* than of *have* and might gather the impression that *be* is the ordinary auxiliary. But I have submitted most of them to Professor G. C. Moore Smith, who has kindly added the letter *h* to those sentences in which it would be usual nowadays to say *have* (*has*, etc.): the letter *p* means that both auxiliaries would be possible.

G. L. Lannert, *An Investigation into the Language of Robinson Crusoe* (Uppsala 1910, p. 94 ff.) gives full lists of the use of the two auxiliaries with intransitive verbs; *be* is in RC "far commoner" than *have*, but (p. 101) "in hypothetical clauses, where the condition is rejected, the use of *have* is practically the rule, both in the subordinate and principal clause". I have not paid sufficient attention to this point to be able to confirm or contradict this observation.

3.1(4). For Present English we may say that *he is come* means 'he has come and is here', *he is gone* means 'he has gone and is away', *the moon is risen* = 'the moon has risen and is now in the sky', *they are rested* = 'they have rested completely and are now all right again' (GE M 1.126 Now they were rested after their walk, they might go and play out of doors). Cp. below *resolved, determined.*

But *he has come* and *he is come* are not to the same extent "retrospective presents" (this is how the perfect is defined 4.1); for the retrospective element is much weaker in *he is come* than in *he has come*, so that the element of present is preponderant. While, therefore, *il est venu, è venuto, er ist gekommen*, and the corresponding Scandinavian phrases may be called perfects and are parallel with *il a battu, ha battuto, er hat geschlagen*, the same is not true of Present English (though it may have been true of earlier periods of the language): *he is come* is a pure present, much as *he is here* or *he is present*, and all these phrases contain the verb *is* combined as usual with a predicative.

Come, etc.

3.2(1). Sh Cor I. 3.29 Madam, the Lady Valeria is come to visit you | AV Gal 4.4 when the fulnes of time was come | Behn 315 they were come so near their own houses (h) | Swift J 46 I will only add one foolish thing more, because it is just come into my head (h) | Goldsm V 1.81 my little ones came running out to tell us that the 'Squire was come (h, p) | Austen S 177 Mrs. J was luckily not come home (h) | ib 267 now she is quite come to (h) | Di DC 103 I felt as if the old days were come back (h) | Gissing B 357 the change which was come upon him (h) | Hardy L 64 Did you tell him whom you were come to see? (h) | Stevenson D 251 When I recovered consciousness, the day was come (h) | Parker R 183 She was come of a superstitious race (h) | Hope R 10 I am come by now to the age when a man should look on life with an eye undimmed by the mists of passion.

Mal 691 had not the gentilwoman ben, I had not comen her | Sh R3 III. 4.29 Had not you come | Fielding 3.560 Wild, who seems to have come to that period, at which all heroes have arrived | Goldsm V 2.24 a young woman who has come to take up her lodgings here.

Both auxiliaries together:

Defoe Rox 163 as I had not come to him for my interest half-yearly, as was usual, I was now come to let him know that . . . | Carlyle FR 451 fervid men have come together from wide separation. Fiery Max Isnard is come, from the utmost Southeast | Di D 39 isn't she come home? . . . Why hasn't she come out to the gate, and what have we come in here for? | id Do 527 'Don't try to deceive me, for it's no use, they're come home—I see it plainly in your face!' 'You're perfectly right, my love, they have come home' | GE Life 2.211 The packet of newspapers is not yet come. I will take care to return it when it has come.

3.2(2). *Arrive* (in Sh both with *be* and *have*) Spect 89 some are arrived at so great knowledge (h) | Fielding 5.432 Being arrived here, they chose for their house of entertainment the sign of the Bell (h) | Brontë J 213 I learned that he was but just arrived in England (h, p) | Rose Macaulay O 73 [ship] When it was arrived at the reef, it stopped (h) || Franklin 39 my friend Collins, who had arriv'd there some time before me | Scott Iv 247 had arrived.

3.2(3). *Get*: Buny P 4 the man was got a good distance from them (h) | Swift 3.345 when he happens to be got among them (h) | id J 38 I am now got into bed (h) | Spect 182 the rural beaus are not yet got out of the fashion (h) | Fielding 3.504 No sooner was Wild got safe on board the fisherman (h) | Goldsm V 2.17 He was by this time got in [into the coach] (h) | Franklin 160 I am got forward too fast with my story (h) | Austen S 366 how far I was got (h) | Scott A 1.273 the German was now got to a little copse-thicket (h) | Stevenson T 179 thinking I was now got far enough to the south (h) || Swift J 164 we have got to our new lodgings.

3.2(4). *Return*: Sh Ado I. 1.30 is Signior Mountanto return'd from the warres | Fielding 3.430 Wild, who was just returned from his travels (h, p) | Austen M 46 Mr. R. was returned with his head full of the subject (h) | Thack N 169 Lady Ann and her nursery were now returned to London again (h, p) | Gissing B 209 Orleans, whence he was only to-day returned (h) || Fielding 3.441 Snap, who had just returned from conveying the Count to his lodgings.

In modern use *he had returned* = 'come back'; *he was returned* = 'was elected member of Parliament'.

3.2(5). Verbs of related meaning: Spect 181 conversation is relapsed into the first extream (h).

Descend: Sh As 1. 2.241 hadst thou descended from another house | Goldsm V 1.179 We are descended from ancestors that knew no stain.

In the primary sense 'to move to a lower position' generally with *have.*

3.2(6). *Meet*: Sh Mids III. 1.1 Are we all met? | Swift 3.363 when people are met together | Collins W 90 that woman and I were met together again (h) | Rossetti 150 when the King and his host were met | Quiller-Couch M 298 They [the Councillors] were met, he reminded them, for two practical purposes [= they were there] ‖ Sh Tp I. 2.233 they all have met againe.

Are (were) met is poetical.

Go.

3.3(1). *Go*: It is curious that this verb is already found with *have* in OE poetry: Beow. 2630 syððan hie togædere gegan hæfdon | Judith 140 and 219 gegan hæfdon; cf. Beow. 220 gewaden hæfde. The oldest quotations for *have* as an auxiliary of intrans. verbs in NED are from ab. 1205. Modern examples:

Gay BP 21 come to us again, as soon as they are gone (h, p) | Swift J 30 Mr. Harley was gone out (h) ‖ Bunyan P 76 had we gone a little further.

Nowadays, while *he has gone* calls up the idea of movement and is a real perfect of *go, he is gone* emphasizes the idea of a state (condition) and is the equivalent of 'he is absent, he is not here (there)'.

3.3(2). Both auxiliaries are seen together in Sh Hml I. 1.52 'Tis gone . . . Thus twice before . . . hath he gone by our watch | Trollope O 48 And he is gone? Yes, said Mary: he has gone . . . He has gone altogether? he asked again | ib 73 He has gone for ever! . . . He shall be gone . . . The thing came, and has gone, and there is an end of it | id B 369 Those sort of rules are all gone by.—Everything has gone by, I believe | Caine P 191 Thora has dressed herself and gone down to the drawing-room . . . while I was asleep she got up and dressed herself, and she is gone | id E 97 If I ever had such a feeling it is gone.—Mine has gone too | Bennett

P 264 I suppose you don't happen to know whether Mr. Morfey has gone out.—He can't be gone out | Mackenzie PR 279 Now that poor Mama has gone I daresay you're anxious for me to be gone too | Masefield M 237 He had only to push aside the tarpaulin to see that the two patients had gone. When they had gone, there was no means of knowing; but gone they were. They had gone at a time when there had been light enough for them to see the biscuits and the bucket; for biscuits and bucket were gone with them | Oppenheim Laxw 78 So our friends have gone to Monte Carlo to try the tables!—They are gone, I think, to play for larger stakes | Kennedy R 214 She left me to-day, without a moment's warning. I had gone into a shop, for a moment, to buy her some flowers. When I came out she was gone. I thought at first that she had gone back to the hotel.

3.3(3). *Has*, *have* is always used in the colloquial pleonasm: Swift J 143 Do you know what it [the weather] has gone and done? | Osborne 84 meerly to vexe me [he] has gon and marryed my country woman | Rose Macaulay P 61 She's been and gone and done it | Locke CA 266 I'm afraid we've been and gone and done it.

3.3(4). *I shall be gone* = 'I shall be away', e. g. Di DC 406 I shall be gone before you wake in the morning.

Similarly Di DC 611 the Doctor was engaged with some one in his study; but the visitor would be gone directly, Mrs. Strong said | GE A 101 If I hadna made up my mind not to go, I should ha' been gone before now | Hardy W 133 a horizontal line, which was never to be gone thereafter, was gradually forming itself in the smooth of his forehead.

3.3(5). *Is gone* is therefore frequently combined with an indication of the length of absence:

Defoe Rox 216 A million of thoughts circulated in my head while she was gone | Austen M 263 he was gone above an hour | By 442 while she was gone, Methought I felt too much alone | Austen M 256 he would soon be always gone | Di D 226 he was to leave . . . and was to be gone I don't know how many years | ib 691 Now you'll go, won't you? you'll be gone one night, and Jip will take care of me while you are gone | Hope R 102 we shan't be gone above four hours | Norris P 143 he's going to be gone a long time [note the two forms of the verb *go* together] | Don't be gone too long!

Cp. inclusive time 4.7(3).

Examples of the corresponding use of the perfect and pluperfect:

Sheridan 359 Since you have been gone, Townly has attempted to renew his importunities | Di N 753 he hasn't been himself since you've been gone [= while you have been away] | James S 140 You've been in California?—Yes.—All the while you've been gone? || Defoe Rox 210 he brought her word the next day that he had been for six years before that gone for Holland, and that he lived there still | ib 224 she said he had been gone from Paris | Mottram EM 77 Even his grandparents and relations had either been gone before his recollections, or still survived.

Note the difference between *had gone* and *had been gone* in

Defoe Rox 250 he never missed me till I had been gone a good while; but when he had gone through all his papers and come to open a little box, he called for me again | Austen M 407 Mrs. R. had gone, for the Easter holidays, to Twickenham . . . Mr. R. had been gone, at this time, to Bath.

3.3(6). In rare cases we find similar phenomena as those here mentioned, with other verbs of movement: Austen M 380 I have been returned since Saturday | Defoe Rox 208 [I said that] she should tell him she was come away from me a great many years ago . . . that she had been come over to France six years ago, and was married there and lived at Calais | Parker R 223 if his appointed time had been come, the river would have ended him then.

3.3(7). *Was gone* may be used = 'went (very rapidly)':

Di D 405 he said it with a curious smile, which was gone directly | Bentley T 263 Again the quaint expression came and was gone | Hart BT p.? she swept up gloves, bag and fur with one swift gesture, and without a backward glance was gone.

Cf. below 6.5 (pluperfect).

3.3(8). On the imperative *be gone!* = 'go!' see 7.4(3).

The infinitive *be gone* also takes the same meaning of 'go' (even 'go quick') after *let*, *must*, *shall* and *will* and some phrases which have reference to the future:

Redford W 738 let us be gone! | Walton A 41 lets be gone | Congreve 222 let me begone first || Gammer 114 I must be gone againe | Lyly C 284 | Marlowe J 1058 but farewell, I must be gone | Sh Tro IV. 2.95 Thou must be gone | Cy I. 1.88 | Merch II. 9.8 But if thou faile . . . You must be gone from hence immediately . . . I am enjoynd . . . Immediately to leaue you, and be gone || Err I. 2.103 If it proue so, I will be gone the sooner | H4A III. 1.141 shall we be gone? | BJonson 3.30 Do as you will, but I'll begone. Be so | Defoe Rox 137 get you gone. No indeed, says he, I shall not begone | id G 47 the clergymen rose up, as if they would be gon || Sh VA 227 he struggles to be gone | Defoe P 34 some heard voices warning them to be gone | id Rox 113 I would advise you to be gone | Fielding T 1.67 she ordered Jenny immediately to pack up her alls, and be gone | id 4.530 he was desirous to be gone with the utmost celerity | Goldsm V 1.190 He was in haste to be gone | ib 2.211 he ordered him at the same time to be gone, and . . . to chuse one | Franklin 192 some were extremely impatient to be gone | Austen S 14 she was impatient to be gone | ib 27 her eagerness to be gone from Norland | Brontë V 217 so eager was I to be gone | GE M 2.93 she felt it time to be gone | Di DC 642 as if he was anxious to be gone | Stevenson Dy 91 he was himself in a hurry to be gone.

3.3(9). This use of *be gone* and the ordinary *go* are found in close proximity in Defoe Rox 310 (where *go* is necessary because the place of destination is mentioned): I resolved to be gone, and go over to Holland | Austen S 189 I must go home. Cannot we be gone to-morrow? . . . It would be impossible to go to-morrow.

Other Verbs of Movement.

3.4(1). Various synonyms of *go*:

Pinero Mrs 63 until the sap is *run* out of our lives (h) | AV Mark 5.21 when Jesus was *passed* ouer againe by ship vnto the other side = RV: when J. had *crossed* over again in the boat unto the other side | Hawthorne Sn 67 the breakfast-hour being *passed*, the inhabitants do not go to their fields [cf. *past*, a different spelling] | Sh H4A II. 3.30 are they not *set forward* already? (now: haven't they started) | Goldsm V 1.142 The two ladies . . . were that day *set out* for London (h) | Shelley L 2.884 The Gisbornes are just *set out* in a diligence-and-four, for Bologna (h) | Austen M 352 the wind had changed, and he was *sailed* within four days from their reaching Portsmouth (h) | Masefield S 134 She'll be sailed by this time (h) | Sh H4A II. 2.8 He is *walk'd* vp to the top of the hill (h) | Defoe M 13 the ladies are not here, they are walked down the garden (h) | id R 2.94 they were *wander'd* into the woods (h) | Fielding 5.564 The serjeant was just *marched* off with his party (h) | Ch B 4473 He wolde han *fled* | Goldsm 631 he looks as if he was *broke loose* from Bedlam (had broken) | Brontë V 95 Whither was he *vanished?* (h, p) | Otway 174 that filthy cuckoo Was in my absence *crept* into my nest (h) | Spect 93 that party-rage which of late years is very much crept into their conversation (h) | More U 179 al the people were *swarmed* furth (h) | Caxton R 104 tyl the sonne was *rysen* (h) | Lawrence L 183 The moon was risen (h, p).

3.4(2). *Fall*, in Sh generally *is fallen*, etc., but Tp II. 1.181 And it had not falne flat-long | John III. 4.63 her haires, Where but by chance a siluer drop hath falne | Stevenson M 177 now that the night had come, he was fallen into a low and tremulous humour (h).

3.4(3). Sh H6C IV. 3.2 "The King by this *is set him downe* to sleepe" and the similar construction in Ch C 663 were explained in vol. III. 16.7$_2$ as due to blending. *Be* is found with *sit down* in Fielding T 4.196 they *were* just *sat down* to breakfast, when Blifil returned | Carpenter D 183 as soon as *we were sat down.*

Now generally *we had sat down.*

3.4(4). In some verbs we must take into account the more or less obsolete reflexive construction, cf. III. 16.2$_2$, thus with *retire*: Sh Tim II. 2.171 I haue retired me to a wastefull cocke. Intransitively ib V 1.62 Hearing you were retyr'd | Mi SA 254 me, who then Safe to the rock of Etham was retired | Fielding 3.419 after the Miss Snaps were retired to rest (h, p) | Goldsm V 2.163 when my audience was retired (h) | Brontë V 430 my co-inmates were all retired (h, p) || ib 39 when the whole party were withdrawn (h, p).

3.4(5). *Expire*: Fielding 3.576 The ten minutes were expired (h, p) | Di Do 336 the term was now nearly expired.

Verbs of becoming.

3.5(1). *Become*: Sh Cæs I. 2.116 And this man Is now become a god | Spect 141 I have loved her till she is grown as grey as a cat, and am with much ado become the master of her person | Goldsm 618 silence is become his mother-tongue (h) | Cowper L 1.75 what was brown is become gray (h) | Shelley L 952 I am become misanthropical (h) | Austen S 246 it was become a matter of indifference (h) | Brontë V 265 Mary was become beautiful (h) | GE A 263 duty was become a question of tactics (h) | Ru S 153 the work we did together is now become vain (h) | Gissing B 159 his mood was become so unsettled (h) | Stevenson D 119 speech was now become impossible (h) | Shaw P 171 a woman with a Roman heart; and that is what Cleopatra is now become (h, p).

Is become is practically universal in the 18th and the beginning of the 19th c.; but now *has become* is much more frequent. Charlotte Brontë, who generally writes *is*, writes (V 277) "the conference . . . would soon have become genial", perhaps to avoid the cacophony of *be become.*

The phrase which now is "What *has* (What's) *become of* him?" was formerly "What *is become of* . . .?", thus Sh Cor I. 4.48, Defoe R 331, Rox 208, Fielding 3.508, Peacock M 223, etc. Miss Austen S 268 has the rare variant: we did now know what was become with him.

3.5(2). *Grow*: with a predicative = *become* (gradually) Sh Lr I. 4.182 For wisemen are growne foppish (h) | Spect 181 the fashionable world is grown free and easie (h) | Goldsm V 1.126 the dwarf, who *was* by this time grown wiser (h, p) | Cowper L 1.370 we *are* all grown young again (h, p) | Austen S 111 their parties are grown tedious and dull (h) | Zangwill G 277 His position was grown so desperate (h, p) || Hunt A 383 Upon seeing Lord Byron, I hardly knew him, he was grown so fat; and he was longer in recognizing me, I had grown so thin.

NED says, s. v. *grow*: "In early use always conjugated with *be*, and still so conjugated when a state or result is implied."

Examples of *grow* (without a predicative) = 'increase in size, etc.': Sh R3 II. 4.5 I hope he is much growne since last I saw him | Austen M 204 she must be grown two inches since October | Di DC 95 (Ham:) "Why, how you have growed!" (David:) "Am I grown?" I said . . . "Ain't he growed!" said Ham.

NED has examples of *have* from 1560 and 1685; in the quotation from Roseborough "her children were both grown" we should now rather say "grown up". But "the child has grown much since October."

3.5(3). *Get* in the sense 'become':

Swift T 7 Your highness *is* hardly *got* clear of infamy | id J 406 I *am* not *got rid* of my cold (now always *have got rid*) | Darwin L 2.105 I *am got* extremely interested in tabulating species || Di T 148 Tom, who had got rather sage with the hot punch.

3.5(4). *Go*: Shelley 209 and he Is now gone mad; examples with *have* III 18.2_1.

Other Verbs.

3.6(1). With some of the verbs that can be used both transitively and intransitively, see III. 16, we find both auxiliaries, and it is not always easy to see any difference in meaning; sometimes the combination with *be* may be taken as a passive (cf. III. 16.4_9). Examples:

Ch T 4.865 Hir face, lyk of Paradis the image, Was al *ychaunged* in another kinde | ib 5.1683 Allas, I never wolde han wend, er this, That ye, Criseyde, coude han chaunged so (here we may think of activity on her part) | Sh Gent III. 1.86 the fashion of the time is chang'd | Mids III. 1. 117 O Bottom, thou art chang'd; what do I see on thee? (pass.?) | Stevenson T 254 "Jim," the doctor interrupted, and his voice was quite changed (note *quite* as before an adj.) | Wells PF 93 her face. Had it changed at all? Was it altogether changed? | Maxwell EG 254 I don't think it matters how your feelings towards me remained—for they have changed now, completely, haven't they?—No, they have been modified, but I am not sure that they're changed | GE A 245 now the third dance was *ended* | Defoe R 2.204 they would have *separated*, and gone away from one another | Macaulay E 4.294 when they had separated, the vizier began to reflect [*were separated* would have been the passive]. Cf. *is begun*, *has begun*.

3.6(2). In "the army *had advanced* far into France" we have a real pluperfect, but the same can hardly be said of "the season was far advanced", where *advanced* is more of an adjective than of a participle.

"He is *enlisted*" = "he has enlisted and is now serving."—Stevenson T 44 "you have a good horse; take up this lad behind you." As soon as I was *mounted*, holding on to Doggers's belt, the supervisor gave the word. Here *was mounted* = had mounted and was seated (sitting).

The snow has *melted* very fast (the happening). The snow is quite melted (the state), cf. the melted snow.

Cp. also: I had *dressed* at seven. I was dressed at seven.

Bunyan P 88 "it *is happened* to him" is singular (*it's* from *it has?*); Sh uses *has* in accordance with the modern use.

3.6(3). *I am determined (resolved)* may be said to mean 'I have determined (resolved) and am firm in that resolution':

Sh Ado V. 4.36 Are you yet (= still) determin'd To day to marry with my brothers daughter?—Ile hold my minde were she an Ethiope | Fielding T 2.108 I am come to a resolution. I am determined to leave my father's house this very night | Churchill C 371 I am determined that you will be my wife | Goldsm 617 I am resolved to accept their proposal | Johnson R 110 they laid tents upon their camels, being resolved to stay among the pyramids.

We *are* all *agreed* is practically = 'we all agree':

Benson Dodo 1 the fact, upon which they are all agreed, that the weather was charming.

Various Remarks.

3.7. In some rare cases we find a participle combined with *be* and yet taking an object; the only verb with which this has become the rule is *pass*, the participle of which is now in this employment spelt *past*: he is past the prime | it is past six (o'clock). Cf. Ch B 1151 Now is she *scaped* al hire aventure | Defoe R 349 we were *entred* a vast great forest | id R 2.364 we were just enter'd

Europe, having pass'd the river Kama | id M 131 He was no sooner entered the room but he ran to me.

Here we must mention the use of *turned* = 'past the age of':

Lowell St 272 he was barely turned eighteen when these verses were written | GE A 199 he had learned to read when he was turned twenty | Rose Macaulay O 206 though she was now turned twenty-eight.

Formerly with *of* (NED 1700 Congreve: I hear he's turn'd of forty). Thus still Swinburne L 16 he was turned of forty (also ib 60).

3.8(1). I mentioned above (3.1(3)) the falling together in sound of *is* and *has* in the unstressed form *he's*. The resulting confusion is seen in the following quotations:

(Bennett LM 59 your secretary . . . She's gone, hasn't she?) | Walpole OL 239 She's dead. She's gone.—She hasn't gone. She's here in this house | Di Do 12 (vg) one of my little boys is a going to learn me, when he's old enough, and been to school himself | Di F 82 It's all ready for cooking, and only been waiting for you | Aldrich Stillw. 9 He's up and been waiting for it | Hankin 1.50 He's a magistrate, and been on the County Council for the last three years.

3.8(2). In the following examples the two auxiliaries are used with different or the same verbs: Hewlett Q 394 when the opportunity had come and was gone | Brontë V 218 He was gone . . . the axe had fallen | ib 31 all that was gone had passed, to say the least, not blissfully || Shaw Man 132 When you have a thousand times wearied of heaven, as you are wearied now. [Wells V 218 He must have married when he was quite a young man . . . Didn't you know he was married? Cf. III. 16.16.]

3.8(3). A participle may also be used as an adjunct (or in apposition), a use which presupposes the use of the auxiliary *is*: Stevenson T 14 Black Dog . . . come for to see his old shipmate Billy (= who is come) | Gissing B 141 Earwaker, remarkably developed and become a very interesting man | Hunt A 380 a man advanced in years | a retired captain, etc., cf. 7.6(4).

3.8(4). A very brief mention must here be made of the omission of the auxiliary found in vg speech, chiefly perhaps in U. S., and due to the fact that the auxiliary is in rapid speech very often reduced to one single consonant which tends to be dropped before another consonant: *you ('ve) got it, I ('ve) done it, he ('s) seen him*, etc. The distinction between the perfect and preterit is thus to a great extent obliterated (*done* = *did*, etc.). The phonetic phenomenon is the same that leads to *you better do that* for *you'd better*, etc. Cf. 4.4(5).

3.8(5). In Ireland one may hear a curious way of expressing the perfect by means of *after* in direct imitation of an Irish idiom:

Birmingham W 18 Aren't you after saying this minute that . . . | ib 30 the man that's just after driving up to the hotel | id Regan 179 he's taking the skin off a sheep that he's just after slaughtering | McKenna SS 170 If Miss Davenant's after hiding herself in one of the coops.

Have, am done, finished.

3.9(1). By the side of *I have done* (in the sense of German *ich bin fertig*)—the older and more normal construction—we find very frequently *I am done.* Stoffel (S 193) "strongly suspects" that the latter construction has arisen through a wrong expansion of *he's done* = 'he has done'; but this explanation is not sufficient, for why should *do* then be the only active verb, in which this transition has become common? The meaning of the verb itself has no doubt had some influence on the change, and, as Storm remarks (E. Philol. 692) *done* has really in the new construction become an adjective = G. *fertig*. It should be noted also that *is done* may often be taken to be the passive; cf. some of the first examples of *be finished* below, and compare the relation between *is changed* and *has changed* 3.6(1). We have pure passives in Hewlett

Q 217 the thing was well done with—over and done with | Galsw FM 96 If that long Mayor thinks I'm done with, he's mistaken.

In vol. III. 13.7₇ I have printed many examples, which there served to illustrate the use with and without the preposition *with* in this sense. Here I shall give some additional ones of both auxiliaries. In Mrs. Browning A 256 we find the ambiguous spelling: When my *head's done* aching.

3.9(2). Examples of *have done*:

Fulg 45 whan wyll ye haue do? | Dekker F 2037 when they haue done singing | Sh Gent II. 4.120 When you haue done, we look to hear from you | AV Ex 34.33 till Moses had done speaking with them | Walton A 118 it has done raining | Swift J 485 I'll have done with them | Defoe R 2.205 I have now done with the island | Richardson G 75 till I had done speaking | Goldsm V 1.41 after we had done | Brontë V 319 I thought he had nearly done | Butler E 18 when we had done supper | ib 54 waiting for me to have done washing | Stevenson B 11 when he had done, he got to his feet again | Gissing H 221 he stood looking at a bottle of laudanum, wishing he had the courage to have done with life | Galsw FM 16 one can't have done with one's own daughter | ib 38 when you've quite done being funny | Walpole OL 220 You'd much better give it me and have done with it | Shaw D 226 when youve quite done talking.

Note the following quotation, which presupposes the use of the auxiliary *do* before *have done*: Roberts M 130 it seems amazing that he did not commit suicide and have done with it.

3.9(3). Examples of *be done*:

Di X 63 they would be done long before Sunday, he said | Stevenson D 89 I am only too glad to be done with all responsibility | id T 184 the coracle—as I had ample reason to know before I was done with it—was a very safe boat | Bennett C 1.231 Edwin wondered why he could not accept and be done with it | Shaw 1.185

you cant be done: youve eaten nothing | id D 269 Youre quite done with him, are you? | Galsw Ca 737 She would never be done in time | Rose Macaulay T 54 she was relieved to be done with the Ethical Church | Maxwell EG 239 Be done with all this sprawling and agonizing | Dreiser F 42 Was he never to be done with this interminable problem? | Lewis B 275 when the barber was done || cf. also Collins W 29 Suppose I begin with myself, so as to *get done* with that part of the subject as soon as possible.

Both auxiliaries together: Farnol A 472 if you are indeed done with the Fashionable world, I have done with it also.

3.9(4). In the wake of *be done* we find *be finished* in the same sense and this is even found with an object, where *have finished* is in better agreement with ordinary grammar: Goldsm V 1.53 When we were finished for the day | Austen E 87 she was then obliged to be finished, and make her appearance | Caine E 260 I shall be finished in a few minutes | Bennett T 68 Ada departed, thankful to be finished with the ordeal of cross-examination | Shaw D 56 when youre finished with Louis | Walpole DW 400 she was finished, absolutely, with all | id OL 163 She'd amuse her before she was finished with her! | Swinnerton S 142 the . . . charwoman . . . was not yet finished work | Maugham Painted Veil 103 It was rather hard to be finished with life at twenty-seven | Marshall Sorry Scheme 59 the time when he would be finished jogging for the day and could return to his wife.

On the imperative *have done!* see 7.4(2).

Chapter IV.

Relations between the Present and the Perfect.

Retrospective and Inclusive Present.

4.1. The Perfect, which is composed by means of the present of an auxiliary, is itself a kind of present tense, and serves to connect the present time with the past. This is done in two ways: first the perfect is a *retrospective present*, which looks upon the present state as a result of what has happened in the past; and second the perfect is an *inclusive present*, which speaks of a state that is continued from the past into the present time. In the next chapter we shall look at the retrospective perfect in its relation to the preterit. Here we shall consider some special cases that illustrate the 'presentic' character of the perfect (cf. also *is gone* above 3.3), and then the perfect as an inclusive present in connexion with other expressions for 'inclusive time'.

Have got.

4.2(1). In colloquial English *I have got (I've got)* has to a great extent lost the meaning of an ordinary perfect and has become a real present with the same meaning as *I have* ('have in my possession'); and in the same way the pluperfect *I had got (I'd got)* has come to be a notional preterit. The evolution is a parallel to the prehistoric change in the old perfecto-present verbs (OE *wāt*, *can*, *mæg*, etc.), as seen most clearly in *wāt* 'know' corresponding to Gr. *(w)oida*, pf. of *(w)eidō* 'see'. The earliest examples of this use of *have got* seem to date from the sixteenth century; it probably began with objects denoting things (*I have got a knife*, etc.), but is now used also with immaterial objects *(I have got no time)* and before the infinitive with *to* (see 4.4).

The reason for this development is obviously that on account of its frequent use as an auxiliary, *have* was not felt to be strong enough to carry the meaning of 'possess' and therefore had to be reinforced.

4.2(2). In the following examples there is at any rate a strong approximation to the present meaning, though they may be taken as meaning 'have acquired, have caught':

Marlowe J 221 warily garding that which I ha got | Dekker Sh IV. 2.47 What a delitious shop you haue got! | Sh Gent IV. 1.75 we'll . . . show thee all the treasure we haue got | Tp II. 2.68 some monster . . . who hath got (as I take it) an ague | Osborne 8 how sorry I am you have gott such a cold.

4.2(3). The following sentences are, I take it, undoubtedly notional present tenses; the one from Swift seems to show that the expression was considered childlike; the 19th c. examples show its extension to higher forms of literature; Ruskin uses it pretty often:

Sh Tim I. 2.26 Fie, th'art a churle, ye'haue got a humour there Does not become a man | Swift J 51 as when little girls say, "I have got an apple" | Goldsm V 2.4 Have you got a good stomach? | id 263 we shall make a noise in the streets, though we have got nothing to sell | Austen M 199 here's company! Who have they got to meet us? | ib 342 what a sad fire we have got | Scott A 2.297 What money have you got, Miss W? [i. e. about you] | Thack N 716 I know you haven't got an appetite | Di DC 356 I know what a friendly heart you have got | id Do 72 I feel sorry you haven't got somebody better about you than a young boy like me, who has got the will to console you, but hasn't got the way | Morris E 109 E'en such a soul as wicked men have got | Ru F 73 what forms of government you have got | Wilde S 61 No man has any real success in this world unless he has got women to back him. If you have not got women on your side you are quite over | Shaw M 192 the result will depend on what sort of conscience the nation has got | id C 117 I havent got a low opinion of you.

4.2(4). The corresponding preterit *had got* = 'had' is not so frequent, though one hears familiarly "I'd got no money, so I couldn't pay him" | Had you got a headache yesterday, since you didn't come? etc.

It may be accidental, that NED has no quotations for *had got* in this sense; in my own collections I find first the following, which means 'had acquired' (note that it occurs in indirect speech): Swift 3.324 when a Yahoo had got a great store of this precious substance [money], he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to; and then the three quotations in 4.3(2), 4.4(3) and 4.4(4).

4.2(5). Somehow the form with *got* seems more required in questions than in declarative sentences. In Farquhar's "The Beaux-Stratagem" (1707) we find the following conversation (p. 320): What will your worship please to have for supper?—What *have you got?*—Sir, we *have* a delicate piece of beef in the pot . . . I *have* everything in the house.—*Have* you any veal?—Veal! sir, we *had* a delicate loin of veal on Wednesday last.—*Have you got* any fish or wildfowl?—. . . we *have* a delicate couple of rabbits . . . I *have* a small charge of money.

The question "Have you it here?" (which I find in Doyle S 2.212) is much more unnatural in present-day speech than "I have it here". The reason is that in such a sentence as "Has he got a pen?" we get the same word-order as in the ordinary type of question: "Will he want a pen?" | "Can I have a pen?", etc., with a weak auxiliary at the beginning of the sentence.

With a negative, too, *I haven't any money* is perhaps rarer in colloquial speech than *I haven't got any money*, though *I have plenty of money* may be said by the side of *I've got plenty of money*.

We see here an outcome of the same tendency that has led to the frequent use of *do* in interrogatory and negative sentences: a compromise between the ordinary word-order Subject Verb Object and the inclination to begin questions with the verb and to place *not* after the verb (Language 357, PG 26, Negation 10); cf. below 12.4(2).

4.3(1). *Have got* cannot, however, be used everywhere instead of *have.* In the first place there are some grammatical restrictions. It is true that we may use the infinitive *to have got*: He seems to have got plenty of time | Kennedy CN 11 how many children Sanger was supposed to have got.—"He must have got plenty of money" is probably less widely used than "He must have plenty of money". Similarly after *may.*

But *have got* is never used in the infinitive after *will* and *shall*; note the three different expressions in Mackenzie C 244 You never did have any sense, you haven't got any sense now, and you never will have any sense.

The imperative is always used without *got*: Don't *have* anything to do with him!

In the perfect and pluperfect *got* cannot be inserted; *I've had no time* and *I'd had no time* are the tenses corresponding to *I've got no time.*

4.3(2). The form with *got* cannot be used if there is no object, see for instance: I've got nothing yet, but I'll let you know when I have | Ru T 15 if only it were quite certain you had got any opinions to represent. But have you?

4.3(3). In the second place, there are some semantic restrictions to the insertion of *got.* This is not used when *have* forms one sense-unit with its object, thus in combinations like *have a look* at the picture, *have a smoke, a bath,* etc. | *Did* you *have* a good *passage?* | I *have* the *honour* . . . | we *had a good time* there | she *had a good cry* | Hope D 55 I *had five dances* with her.

There are therefore two reasons why *got* cannot be used in imperatives like *have a care!* | *Have the kindness* to inform me, etc.

4.3(4). Combinations like *have breakfast, have dinner* form the transition to those other cases in which *got* is not used, namely when *have* has the meaning 'to partake of' (eat, drink, etc.): he had a steak and a glass of beer.

In these two applications of *have*, which do not admit of the insertion of *got*, the verb may be used in the expanded form and with the auxiliary *do*: I *was having* a look at the picture, when she entered | *did* he *have* a glass of whisky? No he *didn't.*

"We don't have fish for breakfast", i. e. we don't (generally) eat . . .; but the landlady, who has not been able to buy fish, will say: "We haven't got fish for breakfast (this morning)".—Both "They haven't got much to say to one another" and "They haven't much to say to one another" may be said, but "they don't have much to say to one another" is less refined.

4.3(5). A frequent combination is *has got left* (= has remaining), which of course is distinct from *has left* (the ordinary perfect of *leave*): Galsw P 3.82 It's the only interest he's got left | ib 1.18 How much of that forty pounds have you got left?

Cf. the colloquial *you've got me beat* or *beaten* (U. S.).

4.3(6). Sometimes we find *have* and *have got* in close proximity: the second quotation shows the impossibility of using *got* in religious language; the third the impossibility after *could*; the last the disinclination to use the preterit *had got* without an object.

Di D 472 the fact is—but I have an appointment at the bank . . . I—I really have got an appointment at the bank | Caine C 178 "Have you got faith in me still?" "God has faith in you" | Walpole DW 410 You're the best friend that he's got—the best friend any man could have | Zangwill G 91 the Kronprinds has nothing to do with the story . . . Oh, well, perhaps, he has got a little to do with the story, after all | Dreiser F 90 He's got two deputies in there with him, or did have.

4.4(1). *I have got to do* is frequently used (from the middle of the 19th c., if not before) = 'I have to do, am obliged to':

Beaconsf L 223 I have got to see the Bishop to-morrow morning | Di Do 76 all you've got to do | GE Mm 231 a woman has got to put up with the life her husband makes for her | Ru C 69 people always think they have got to be made wretched by conversion,—to be converted to long faces. No, friends, you have got to be converted to short ones | Wilde D 27 I have got to work up this background | Shaw 2.84 Youve got to do all the work to-day | Wells M 32 one of the risks a man has got to take || With and without *got*: Trollope D 1.219 You have got to think of money. Yes, I have to think of it.

4.4(2). This idiom is used even when the subject is not a person:

Jerome T 123 something's got to be done | Stevenson T 100 it's got to come to blows sooner or later | James S 31 If it didn't [pay] it wouldn't last. It has got to last, of course | Aumonier OB 262 It's got to be lived through | Rose Macaulay T 125 There's got to be something desperately final between Denman and me.

"We don't have to change at Crewe" (or "we have not") may indicate the ordinary rule (we never have to), while "We haven't got to change at Crewe" means this time.

4.4(3). In these cases the infinitive is the object of *have got*; thus the combination is grammatically different from those in which *have got* has another object to which a supplementary infinitive is added:

Ru F 88 a nation that has got anything to defend | Kennedy R 155 You've got William to consider, besides yourself. He has the same trouble to bear.

The latter analysis applies also to the following sentences, though nothing is shown by the word-order, as the interrogative pronoun is naturally put first:

Di N 103 what have I got to do with her dressing beautifully? | ib 742 what have you got to tell me? | Black Ph 348 But what have you got to say about Arthur? | Wilde D 101 what has the actual lapse of time got to do with it?

The answer would naturally be: "You have got nothing to do with . . .", not "You have got to do nothing with . . .", etc.

But the following two sentences are more doubtful and admit the analysis: I have got to do this | I had got to say this, as well as: I have got this to do | I had got this to say; note in the second sentence the preterit:

Wilde P 27 the first thing that I have got to do is to free myself | Ru C 13 the more I thought over what I had got to say, the less I found I could say it.

4.4(4). While sentences like "We had to leave him there" with stressed *had* are extremely frequent as the notional preterit to "we must", the combination with the preterit *had got to* with an infinitive is rare; it emphasizes the sense of compulsion: Butler W 38 Nevertheless it had got to be done.

Instead of the question "Had you got to leave him?" the usual forms are "Had you to leave him?" or (more modern) "Did you have to leave him?".

4.4(5). In recent very colloquial speech *'ve* is dropped before *got*, which thus becomes a kind of present by itself = 'have'. This is particularly frequent in America:

Masefield C 225 You got to decide now | Wells H 219 you got to look facts in the face | ib 327 You got to back up rules somehow—once you got 'em | Norris P 336 we got to keep a grip on ourselves. We've got a lot to think of | Lewis MS 8 you got to listen to me.

Note the tag-question, which shows that *have* is still felt as belonging to *got*: Tarkington F 36 [boy speaking] I got a right to know what she said, haven't I?

On the same omission in *I done it*, etc. see 3.8(4).

4.4(6). One final word on the forms *got* and *gotten*. Both forms were used side by side in the old language (cf. *forgot* and *forgotten*); Sh in his young days used *gotten* a few times, but later always *got*; the AV has both forms (e. g. Gen 4.1 I haue gotten a man from the Lord), but gradually the shorter form became the one used exclusively, or nearly exclusively, in England. Swift in his *Journal* uses both alternatingly. A few British examples of the fuller form from the beginning of the 19th c. may be given:

By L 292 the Greeks have gotten their loan | Austen E 106 I had gotten him off.

In Scotland *gotten* seems to be frequent (Burns, Scott), and it is possible that Americans have taken this form from Scottish. It does not seem to be used often in all parts of the U. S., and many Americans denounce the form as incorrect or vulgar. But Mencken (AL 293) makes the interesting observation, which I translate into my own terminology, that "in the polite speech" *I have gotten* is a real perfect, implying having obtained possession, while *I have got* is a notional present (perfecto-present) meaning simply 'I have': *I have gotten* what I came for | *I have got* a house—and that in vulgar speech the same distinction obtains between "I gotten what I came for" and "I got a house".

Is dead—has died.

4.5(1). *He is dead* might in certain respects be considered a perfect of *he dies*; therefore we often find it combined with the preterit, etc., of *die*:

Sh Mcb V. 8.43 But like a man he dy'de.—Then he is dead? | Ant I. 2.122 Fuluia thy wife is dead.—Where dyed she? | Defoe Rox 5 my own father died, my mother having been dead before | Swift J 208 Rochester is dead this morning; they say at one o'clock; and I hear he died suddenly | Brontë J 268 Jane was dead: she had died of typhus fever at Lowood | Carlyle FR 274 granting even that Religion were dead; that it had died, half centuries ago, with Dubois | Wells TB 2.63 an old Catholic family had died out in it [the house], century by century, and was now altogether dead | NP '29 obsolete usages which may have died in America, but are certainly not dead here.

Cf. also Ch B 1841 six MSS: as by wey of kinde I sholdé have deyed, ye, longe tyme agoon, Harl. MS: Ichulde han ben deed long tyme a goon.

Still, there is some difference between *he is (was) dead* and *he has (had) died.* The former is a real present and emphasizes the state, while the latter is retrospective and emphasizes the transition that has taken place. *He is dead* = 'he is not living' (cp. expressions like *dead nature*); *he has died* = 'he has ceased to live, he is no longer living'; cp. G. *er ist tot, er ist gestorben,* and compare the distinction between *he is gone* and *he has gone* (3.3).

4.5(2). Therefore, there are some cases in which it would be impossible to use *dead.* Thus in speaking of repeated deaths:

Sh As IV. 1.107 men *haue died* from time to time, and wormes haue eaten them, but not for loue | Macb V. 1.67 I haue knowne those which haue walkt in their sleep, who *haue dyed* holily in their beds.

Further, when the manner of dying, or the time of dying, is in the mind of the speaker:

It would have been better, if he *had died* in his bed instead of in the trenches | I wish he *had died* last year instead of now | Sh Macb II. 3.96 *Had* I but *dy'd* an houre before this chance, I had liu'd a blessed time | R2 II. 3.126 *Had* you first *died*, and he beene thus trod downe, He should haue found his Vnckle Gaunt a father | Goldsm V. 1.182 *Had* she but *died*! [at that time, instead of running off with her seducer] | Christie Big Four 185 by the time we get there, she will *be dead*, and God knows in what terrible way she will *have died.*

Oppenheim Laxw 18 Her husband at one time held a post in the Foreign Office. For some reason or other he was discredited, and since then he *has died*: "and since then he has been dead", would have meant 'dead to the world' (socially considered a dead man).

4.5(3). In former times, however, *is dead* was sometimes used with indication of the time of death:

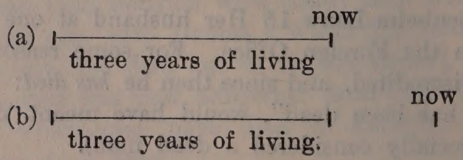
Sh Ro V. 3.210 my wife is dead to-night | Swift J 535 Foulkes, who is lately dead . . . I believe that Foulkes was not dead when Gorges recommended the other; for W's letter said that F. was dead the day before the date [cf. ib 208 quoted above] | Goldsm V 1.166 one of your tenants, whose mother is lately dead [thus pretty frequently].

4.5(4). The word *dead* is very frequently used in expressions of inclusive time: he has been dead for many years = he died many years ago:

Di X 7 Mr. Marley has been dead these seven years. He died seven years ago, this very night | Jameson F 267 his wife was long dead [cf. 4.6(2), 4.7(3)].

Inclusive time and connected phenomena.

4.6(1). The term "inclusive time" is here used when an expression denoting a specified length of duration is meant to include the notion that the action or state implied is still (or was still, or will be still) lasting at the time implied in the sentence. If I say "he has lived here for three years" or in French "il demeure ici depuis trois ans", two time-indications are implied, the present point, and the length of three years previous to the present moment. While French here uses the simple present tense and therefore must use the preposition *depuis* (cf. German *seit*), English generally uses the perfect tense. We may graphically represent the difference between the inclusive "he has lived here for three years" (a) and the pure past "he lived here for three years" (b) in this way:



If we imagine a man who was married in 1910, speaking in the year 1930, he will say:

(I) I have been married (now) twenty years—inclusive present.
(II) In 1920 I had been married ten years—inclusive past.
(III) In 1940 I shall have been married thirty years—inclusive future.

The term "inclusive present" is more convenient than "inclusive past-and-present" (which I used in PG 272); the corresponding "inclusive before-past-and-past" for II would be very awkward, and what should we say of III, which includes past and present besides future?

4.6(2). As already stated, the perfect tense is generally used to denote the inclusive present time.

Ch MP 3.37 a siknesse That I have suffred this eight yere | Sh H4B V. 1.51 I haue seru'd your worshippe truely, sir, these eight yeares | Ado III. 4.69 how long haue you profest apprehension? | AV John 11.39 he hath beene dead foure dayes | Goldsm 20 the colt that has been in our family these nine years | Hardy R 66 I've been home these two hours.

Other examples may be found in the section dealing with *since*, 5.7.

4.6(3). In a connected narrative in the dramatic present tense, the perfect is of course used for the inclusive past time:

Carlyle FR 136 Ill-fated Queen! Her hair is already gray with many cares and crosses; her first-born son is dying in these weeks; black falsehood *has* ineffaceably *soiled* her name . . .

4.6(4). Examples of the inclusive past expressed as usual by means of the pluperfect:

AV John 11.17 Then when Jesus came, hee found that he had lien in the graue foure dayes already | Austen S 29 it [the house] had not been built many years and was in good repair | Hardy R 78 her grandfather, who, since three of his ribs had become broken in a shipwreck, had lived on Egdon.

4.6(5). We must here specially illustrate the expressions of inclusive time with *has (had) been gone* in the sense mentioned in 3.3(5):

Austen P 419 the others have been gone on to Scarborough these three weeks | James S 105 Lateish—isn't it?—when she must have been gone this quarter of an hour to her room || Defoe R 157 My ink had been gone some time | ib 2.65 after he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word | Butler W 168 the carriage had been gone now a full quarter of an hour | Hardy R 35 the reddleman had not been gone more than a few minutes when another person approached | Barrie MO 243 I had been gone a fortnight when a telegram was put into my hands. Cf. *is gone, was gone* in the same sense 4.7(3).

Corresponding expressions are also found occasionally with other verbs of motion (obsolete?):

Swift J 512 he has been come over about ten days | Franklin 70 We had not been long returned to Philadelphia before the new types arrived | Austen E 178 they had been arrived only a few minutes [= had been there] | Keats 5.130 I have been returned from Winchester this fortnight.

4.7(1). The present tense is not often found for the inclusive present time (as in many other languages), though for the sake of completeness we must mention the direct imitation of the foreign idiom found in AV Luke 15.29 Loe, these many yeeres do I serue thee [= tosaûta étē douleúō soi; 20 Cent.: look at all the years I have been serving you].

4.7(2). When one inquires after a person's health the interest naturally centres round the present moment, hence the present tense is used; but an indication of time may be added as an afterthought, which produces the impression of 'inclusive time':

Sh Hml III. 1.91 Good my Lord, How does your Honor for this many a day? | Trollope D 2.264 Well, Lady Mab, and how are you this long time? [= how are you, and how have you been this long time?] | Mackenzie C 263 How are you, Edie, all this long time?—A similar afterthought is seen in Galsw T 29 Nobody comes here but him for a long time now.

4.7(3). Though it is not possible to say, e. g., "he is ill these five months" for *has been*, there are cases where a similar use of the present tense and the preterit may be found for the inclusive present and the inclusive past, namely in some idiomatic expressions meaning absence, cessation, and the like:

Is gone = 'has been gone' 3.3(4) and 4.6(5):

Di P 122 Your little boy is a long time gone | Hope R 182 He's twelve hours gone now, and never a message! | Caine E 238 You are only half an hour gone, and here I am sending this letter after you | Quiller Couch M 11 the guns, the garrison, were gone these five years || cf. Holmes A 241 the simple soul was evidently not long from her mother-land.

That is *long over* (= it is a long time since it ceased) | Hunt A 66 The American Revolution was not long over.

With *dead* (though an English friend tells me that "he is long dead" is not current):

Trollope D 2.15 her mother was hardly more than three months dead | Caine C 208 is he long dead, doctor? | Shaw C 52 your father is then not long dead?

Finally: Thack V 209 he's only *married* a week.

Cf. Godley (quoted by Kruisinga): The Town and Gown rows ... are extinct and forgotten these last ten years.

4.7(4). Some of these expressions may be explained as due to a confusion between the beginning of a state and its duration: *he is a long time gone* combines the two ideas 'it is a long time since he went' and 'he has been absent and is absent'. Such a blending is particularly frequent with *leave*, as in

Fielding T 4.201 Mrs Miller had not long left the room, when Mr. Western entered (= had not long been out of the room) | Austen M 78 I have not yet left Oxford long enough to forget what chapel prayers are | Beaconsf L 31 the ladies had not long left the dining room (also ib 299) | ib 75 Lothair had quitted Vaux one week | Thack S 114 a nobleman, who cannot have left the nursery very long | Darwin L 1.244 I have now *left* England nearly a year and a half | Austen P 120 they had not long separated when Miss Bingley came towards her.

4.7(5). With other verbs such blendings of time-indications are not so frequent:

Dobson Fielding 31 John Rich had not long opened a new theatre | Thack N 364 I had not arrived yesterday ten minutes when my maid came running in [= *had been arrived* in the quotation 4.6(5) Austen E 178] | Di D 2 my father's eyes had closed upon the light of this world six months, when mine opened | Stevenson T 7 by this time we had long ceased to pay any particular notice to the song.

Cf. also the confusion of time-indications in Thack N 364 Her childish inclination is passed away these two years, whilst Mr. Jack was performing his feats in prison [= it passed away two years ago . . .] | Harraden D 46 a scholar whose emotions had been long since dead [= had been long dead; had died long since].

Chapter V.

Relations between the Perfect and the Preterit.

5.1(1). The perfect is, as we have already remarked, a retrospective present; it connects a past occurrence with the present state as having results or consequences bearing on the present moment. The preterit, on the other hand, refers to some time in the past without telling anything about its connexion with the present moment. The question "Have you finished?" refers to the present moment ("Are you through?"), while "Did you finish?" asks about some definite portion of past time. "How many times have you seen him?" refers to the whole time up to the present moment, "How many times did you see him?" may be supplemented, e. g. by "during your stay in London". The choice of the preterit or the perfect is therefore closely related to the particular kind of time-subjunct found in the same sentence.

Various Subjuncts.

5.1(2). The preterit must be used whenever we have such subjuncts as *yesterday, last night, the other day, on the first of January, then, in the year 1901, last year*, etc., as they indicate some period in the past. To the German "ich habe ihn vorgestern wieder gesehen" corresponds "I saw him again the day before yesterday".

Examples: I arrived yesterday | I was very busy all that year | My eldest brother was born in 1870 | When did your uncle die?

Then = 'at that time' requires the preterit, but when non-temporal, it may be combined with the perfect: then [= 'accordingly'] he has been here (cp. the use with the present: then he is guilty).

Once in the weakened sense 'once upon a time' (generally placed before the verb) requires the preterit: I once thought he would marry her, while in the strictly numerical sense of 'one time, and not twice, etc.', it may be found with either tense: I have him seen once (only; in the whole of my life) | I saw him once (only) while he was here last.

5.1(3). *Already* often refers to the present (cp. he is already dressed | the plums are already ripe) and therefore is frequent with the perfect: I have already said it. But with reference to some time in the past we have, e. g. He was already asleep when we arrived.

With *before* both tenses may be used: I repeat what I said before [on the occasion you remember, etc.], or: what I have said before [on various occasions].

5.1(4). When a time is indicated that is not yet completed (*today*, *to-night*, *this year*, *hitherto*, *up till now*, *not yet*) the perfect is naturally used:

I have worked hard today | I have not played chess this year | he has been a conscientious worker so far, etc.

We may, however, have the preterit in a sentence containing *today*, *this year*, etc., if some definite (past) part of this period is referred to (or implied). Thus you may ask a friend who generally meets a young lady on his way to the office: "Did you see her today?" [i. e. when you were coming here].

Compare also: Scott A 2.209 I saw him to-day engaged in an animated contest [= when I saw him, he was engaged] | Di D 804 when I came here to-day, I thought that nothing could have wrested this confession from me | id Do 493 I took passage in the next ship and came home, and arrived at home to-night to find it true, thank Heaven! | Ru C 115 I do not doubt but that many of you came unwillingly to-night, to hear what a writer on painting could possibly say [= you left home unwillingly] | Wells F 277 a friend who called to-day spoke of Nevinson | Hope Ch 250 did you have any talk with her to-day? [i. e. when you saw her].

Both tenses occur together:

Sh Lr V. 3.41 Sir, you haue shew'd to day your valiant strain, And Fortune led you well | Mason Witn. f. Defence 173 "I am very glad that you came to-night. You have seen for yourself." "Yes, I have. Harold, there have been moments this evening when I could have screamed."

This morning has two different meanings, and consequently may be connected with two different tenses; if we speak in the morning itself, we have the perfect: I have not looked at the paper this morning. But if we speak later in the day, we use the preterit: I did not look at the paper this morning (which may be followed by "but only read it after lunch").

5.1(5). *Recently*, *lately*, *of late* are generally, but not always found with the perfect:

Fox 2.194 the editor has recently seen a letter | Haggard S 14 this is a fact that I have only recently mastered | Hankin 2.36 He's had a lot of work to do lately | Saintsbury in Cbr. H. E. Lit. 2.162 short pieces which have recently been unearthed | NP '14 the name of Treitschke has been much before us of late | NP '14 it has only just reached this country.

Examples of the preterit:

Goldsm 262 I lately made an excursion to a village | Di P 112 Mr. Perker, a gentleman whom I lately met | Spencer A 2.19 I saw John Mill lately | Hardy R 243 I felt myself in that state lately.—This is also possible with *recently*.

Just now, *long ago*, *a short time ago*, *only a few days ago* are usually, but not always, found with the preterit.

Hardy R 323 I forgave her long ago || Sh H4A II. 3.68 He is [gone] my Lord, an houre agone | Carlyle FR 472 Great Burke has raised his great voice long ago | Mason Witn. f. Defence 72 How long was that ago? || Shaw A 113 the rain stopped about two minutes ago.—So it has. [The second speaker is thinking only of the present moment.]

Even now = 'a moment ago' in Sh has the preterit:

Err IV. 1.56 you know I gaue it you euen now | Tp. V. 1.232 under hatches, Where, but euen now . . . We were awak'd | Hml I. 1.81 Our last king, Whose image euen but now appear'd to vs.

When *just (only just)* refers to the time immediately preceding the present moment, we have the perfect:

Benson Dodo 33 after his death she suddenly left London, and has only just returned. But of course we have the preterit in "he returned just in time" (just as the sun was setting, etc.).

5.1(6). With *always*, *ever*, and *never* it is possible to use either the preterit, because the adverbs mean 'at any (no) time in the past', or the perfect, because the adverbs imply comparison with the present time. But the former is more idiomatic, and the reference to 'now' which is implied in the latter will in many cases be felt to be unnatural or unnecessary.

Professor Moore Smith writes to me about the difference:

"Were you ever at Paris?" would be used if someone had been telling of his past travels; it thus means 'in the course of your travels'—the speaker's interest lying for the moment in the past. If the interest is specially in the present, *have been* is required: "You are becoming a great traveller, you've been everywhere. But have you ever been in Paris?" Hence *were you ever* would be more likely found in a conversation with a person of age and experience than in one with a child. The contrast of past and present is brought out again in 'Did you ever hear of such a thing?' or simply, 'Did you ever?' This is more forcible and rhetorical than 'Have you ever heard . . .' which is a demand for information.

Examples from books:

Roister 14 had euer man suche a frende? | Sh Merch III. 5.4 I was alwaies plaine with you, and so now I speake my agitation | Congreve 255 he does not look as he used to do. He was always of an impetuous nature | Austen S 240 you are what you always were | Di Do 494 I am behind the present time—I always was | Holmes A 149 I always believed in life rather than in books || Goldsm 612 Was ever the like? | Kingsley H 54 Were you ever at Athens? | Shaw 2.134 Did you speak well?—I have never spoken better in my life | Wells N 275 she spoke, as indeed she has always spoken, simply, clearly, and vividly [here *has spoken* is necessary, because it emphasizes her practice at all times; "she always spoke" might mean: in those days only] | Doyle R 94 I make myself the greatest benefactor to mankind that has ever lived [in speaking of a dead man one would say: the greatest b. to m. that ever lived].

5.1(7). Both tenses are sometimes found closely after each other:

Sh H6B IV. 7.72 Iustice with fauour haue I alwayes done, Prayres and teares haue mou'd me, gifts could neuer | Lr I. 1.293 he alwaies lou'd our sister most, and with what poore iudgement he hath now cast her off appeares too grossly . . . he hath euer but slenderly knowne himselfe | Di F 407 I have never been here since that night, and never was here before that night | id D 622 the vaunting cruelty with which she met my glance, I never saw expressed in any other face ever I have seen | Locke HB 134 Such a possibility never entered my mind. Has never entered it | Walpole DF 33 I determined that I would be satisfied with myself. Well, of course I never was—never have been.

Doyle S 2.87 Did you ever see a bed fastened like that before? I cannot say that I have.—Here *have* is necessary in the answer, because *I did* would imply a definite point of time.

Time not Expressly Indicated.

5.2(1). Very often there is no express indication of time, and yet the preterit may be required because a special point of time is implied by the context or by the whole situation. It is customary in the morning to ask: "Did you sleep well?"—the implication being 'in the night just passed'. "Did you read that article in the Times about the Indian troubles?"—namely, when it was printed, a few days ago. And though it is natural to ask: "Have you read Samson Agonistes?", yet, if a man has just been telling you that he had taken a course in Milton with Professor X, you may ask him: "Did you read Samson Agonistes (with him)?" Thus also, one may ask a person who has just come from America, "Did you have a good passage?"

Cf. also Di D 189 What do you think of that for a kite? I made it [when it was made] | Bentley T 159

A propos of nothing in particular, were you at Oxford? [= were you educated at Oxford = are you an Oxford man?].

In Sweet's example (NEG § 2235) "I had hardly any breakfast, but I do not feel at all hungry" the explanation of the preterit (which Sweet does not give) is that the whole might be periphrased: "I ate very little at breakfast(-time)".

5.2(2). A person on arriving may say "I have come (in order to . . .)" or else "I came . . .": the idea of the latter sentence is something like: "When I decided to come, my reason was . . .". Examples:

Sh H4A IV. 3.89 Tut, I came not to heare this (cf. Shr III. 2.151 and 182) | GE Mm 138 "You have come all the way from Paris to find me?" she said to him. "I came personally, in order to ensure that you would return with me" | Galsw Ca 842 I came back to ask you something | Flecker Hassan 138 "Have you come too?" "I do not know why I came".

Cf. *I come* 2.7(2).

5.2(3). It is a natural consequence of the definition given that in speaking of dead people the preterit is necessary, except when the reference is to the result as affecting the present day. Thus we may say: "Newton has explained the movements of the moon" (i. e. in a way that is still known or thought to be correct, while "Newton explained the movements of the moon from the attraction of the earth" would imply that the explanation has since been given up). On the other hand, we must use the preterit in "Newton believed in an omnipotent God", because we are not thinking of any effect his belief may have on the present age. "Shakespeare has written [= is the author of] the greatest tragedies the world has ever seen". But: "Shakespeare wrote 'Hamlet' in or about 1603". The difference between the reference to a dead man and to one still living is seen in the following quotation which must have been written between 1859, when

Macaulay died, and 1881, when Carlyle died (note also *Mr.* before the latter name): McCarthy 1.533 Macaulay did not impress the very soul of English feeling as Mr. Carlyle, for example, has done.

In Antony's great speech at Cæsar's funeral (Sh Cæs III. 2.78) he generally uses the preterit, but says "He hath brought many captiues home to Rome [they are here still], Whose ransomes did the generall coffers fill: Did this in Cæsar seeme ambitious? When that the poore haue cry'de, Cæsar hath wept"—this probably in accordance with the rule mentioned below 5.4(1) (repeated action with *when*), but some grammarians find fault with it. A little further down the 2nd citizen says: "If thou consider rightly of the matter, Cæsar ha's had great wrong"—here, the preterit "Cæsar had g. wr." would have implied, on one particular occassion.

Dean Alford writes (Q 120): You may say of a sick man yet living, "He has lost much strength during the week." But the moment he is dead, you can no longer thus speak, you must say, "He lost much strength during the week". . . . If I say, "My father left me an injunction to do this or that," I leave the way open to say, "but now circumstances have changed, and I find another course more advisable;" if I say "My father has left me an injunction to do this or that," I imply that I am at this moment obeying, and mean to obey that injunction.

Thus also we must say "England has had many able rulers" (England still exists), but "Assyria had many able rulers." (Bradley M 67).

5.2(4). Note also the tenses in

Wilde In 85 Taken as a whole, the man [Browning] was great . . . He has been called a thinker, and was certainly a man who was always thinking, and always thinking aloud | Wyatt Mi SA 12 although Milton had no predecessors, he has had several imitators | Wells OH 446 Both Voltaire and Gibbon had the sense of history strong in them; both have set out very plainly and fully their visions of human life; and it is clear that to both of them the system in which they lived . . . seemed the most stably established way of living that the world has ever seen | Pearsall Smith Words & Id. 152 Sir Walter Scott, who was endowed with a keen sense of the value of words, and who has done more to enrich our language with picturesque terms than any other modern writer | Rose Macaulay T 161 But newspapers said at the time, and history books have said since, that this poem sounded a fine and needed note | NP '16 The only time I saw him [the dead President] was the only time I have been in the White House, where two older men took me along.

5.2(5). Reference has already been made (2.4(8)) to the necessary agreement between two clauses in such cases as: "It was Shakespeare, and not Bacon who wrote Hamlet", and "It is Shakespeare, and not Bacon, who has written Hamlet". The latter is the equivalent of "Sh., not B., is the author of (the still existing play of) Hamlet".

5.3(1). The preterit may be used without exact indication of time, expressed or implied, when a comparison is drawn between present and past conditions:

England is not what it was (is different from what it was) | life is not so pleasant as it was | Sh Ado III. 2.47 Indeed he lookes yonger then hee did, by the losse of a beard | Quincey 300 Even dogs are not what they were | Wells Br 336 Things are much livelier than they were | Nicolson Some People 38 you are a freak, but you are less of a freak than you were | Sutro Choice 50 Perhaps your eyes aren't as good as they were.

In this connexion we may mention combinations like: Lady Jenny Forbes that was | your friend Mrs. W., Miss P. that was; many examples III. 8.2.

5.3(2). But otherwise such vague implications of the past are not expressed by the simple preterit, but by means of the phrase *used to* (cf. 1.9), which denotes not only habitual or repeated action (as in "I used to call on them every Sunday"), but also a permanent state in the past. The relation between this expression and the simple preterit will be clear from the following sentences:

I used to live at Chelsea [no time indicated] | in 1914 I lived at Chelsea | I lived there about ten years ago (cp. I have lived about ten years at Chelsea [and still live there]; I was living there when my father died).

I used to know her mother pretty well | I knew him immediately he entered [= recognized].

The man who used to teach us French | the man who taught us that song.

The man who used to be organist at St. Paul's.

See also the following quotations:

Austen S 86 She used to be all unreserve | Hunt A 136 I did not stammer half so badly as I used [now *used to*] | Pinero S 116 I used to think her jolly | Di M 149 You look more anxious and thoughtful than you used | Gissing H 48 Indeed? The book used to belong to you? | Dickinson S 3 We used to meet . . . at the country house . . ., where we would spend the week end together.

As *can* has no infinitive, Standard English is obliged to say "I used to be able to draw pretty well", or simply "I used to draw pretty well". But children, at any rate in America, frequently say *I couldn't use to* [ai kudn(t) ju·stu]; and L. W. Payne, in his Word-List from East Alabama, mentions *use(d) to could* (and *use(d) to would*) as occurring there. Cf. 22.9(4).

A curious use of the preterit is seen in Mackenzie S 535 Absurd. That's the word I've been looking for . . . "What was it again? Absurd!" [= I ask you again, what did you say it was?] Cf. 11.3(2).

5.3(3). The use of the preterit of those verbs which are most often used 'imaginatively' (9.5) in speaking of a real past is possible, but not particularly frequent, except with *could*:

From where she stood she could see all their movements | we could not help laughing | I could read an easy French book when I was twelve [better: was able to] | at that time, he could still read without spectacles | when we were children, we might [= were allowed to] play in the garden, but not in the street | we might obey [= it is possible that we obeyed] our teachers, but we did not like them.

The NED quotes from Borrow: "it might be about half-past two in the afternoon when I left Lampeter", and adds, "The now current form *may have been* . . . is more logical, as the subjective possibility is a matter of the speaker's present".

Note also Collins W 64 Your management of the affair might not have been [= may not have been, or might not be] prudent; but it showed the self-control . . . of . . . a gentleman.

The Perfect.

5.4(1). The perfect often seems to imply repetition: "When I have been in London, I have seen him pretty often" implies several stays, while "When I was in London, I saw him pretty often" implies only one stay. The alternation in some of the following quotations of the two tenses is very characteristic:

Ch A 18 The holy blisful martir for to seke That hem hath holpen whan that they were seke | Sh Mcb V. 1.59 I haue knowne those which haue walkt in their sleep who haue dyed holily in their beds | Mids II. 1.87 And neuer since the middle summers spring Met we on hil . . . But with thy braules thou hast disturb'd our sport | Shelley 212 If I have erred, there was no joy in error | Brontë V 23 He rarely, it is true, remarked on what he read, but I have seen him sit and think of it | Gissing R 173 Many a time, when life went hard with me, I have betaken myself to the Stoics, and not all in vain. Marcus Aurelius has often been one of my bedside books; I have read him in the night watches, when I could not sleep for misery, and when assuredly I could have read nothing else. He did not remove my burden . . . | NP '12 This method has sometimes succeeded. It succeeded two years ago | Wells H 112 I've bit his hands before now, bit hard, before he'd leave go of me | Shaw 2.105 Ive been to your political meetings, and Ive seen you do whats called rousing the meeting to enthusiasm: that is, you excited them until they behaved exactly as if they were drunk. And their wives looked on and saw what fools they were | Rogers Wine of Fury 20 I'm really glad you've come [this time]—and sorry I haven't been in [on previous occasions] when you called before | Walpole C 425 And when the town was pleased with you and said you were so fine I've laughed, knowing what you were, and I thought to myself . . .

5.4(2). This use of the perfect is frequent in a *when*-clause:

Thack P 90 He has already cut her down twice when she has hanged herself out of jealousy | Lawrence L 193 when I've dreamed of the woman he would love if he hadn't got me, it has always been a Spanish type | Mason R 234 when I have been unkind, as I have been many times, it was because I was not obeying | Hardy R 96 when you have left me I am always angry with myself for things that I have said to you | ib 345 Why do you want to do that at this particular time, when at every previous time that I have proposed it you have refused? | Wells Blw 24 I've seen it so often before when I've been on the bench | Bentley T 263 Sometimes when I have been alone I have remembered that folly.

5.4(3). While Shakespeare has *the time has been . . .* (R2 III. 3.11), the usual phrase now is *(the) time was when*:

Di N 740 though time was, and no longer ago than yesterday, too, when they were all civility | ib 751 recollecting that the time was when they could move us | id D 748 the time was when I loved him better than you ever did.

5.4(4). Here may be given some examples of the preterit and the perfect in close proximity, first such in which the latter tense tells about the consequences of the occurrence told in the preterit:

Macaulay E 2.320 The glory of being further behind the age than any other portion of the British people, is one which that learned body [Oxford] acquired early, and has never lost | ib 4.74 he [Clive] was in consequence accused by his enemies, and has been accused by historians, of disobeying his instructions | id H 1.38 Thus our democracy was, from an early period, the most aristocratic, and our aristocracy the most democratic in the world; a peculiarity which has lasted down to the present day, and which has produced many important moral and political effects | Carlyle H 132 in our Island there arose a Protestantism . . ., which came forth as a real business of the heart, and has produced in the world very notable fruit | Brownell Amer. Prose 63 Hawthorne was so exceptional a writer that he has very generally been esteemed a great one. In America such an estimate has been almost universal. He won his way slowly.

5.4(5). Next some examples in which there is no such connexion between the two sentences, but in which the reason for the alternation is nevertheless pretty obvious:

Roister 23 Yond stode a man al this space And hath hearde all that euer we spake togyther | AV Job 1.21 The Lord gaue, and the Lord hath taken away | Austen P 29 She has known him only a fortnight. She danced four dances with him at M.; she saw him one morning at his own house, and has since dined in company with him four times | Kingsley H 267 Whence came this new conscience to me I know not, but come it has | Macaulay E 4.75 none of those acts which are the real stains of his life has drawn on him so much obloquy as this measure, which was in truth a reform necessary to the success | Di D 769 Good gracious me, when did you come, where have you come from, what have you been doing? | id F 400 Death has come to him. Death came to him in an ugly shape | id Do 463 he has always pampered the vanity and ambition of his employer, when it was his duty to have held them in check | ib 531 She has always said—she said before we were married, and has said to this day—that she'd come . . . | id F 384 He has taken the matter so much to heart that he has remonstrated (in my presence he remonstrated) with Mr. E. W. | id P 298 Many of the hearts that throbbed so gaily then, have ceased to beat | Thack P 722 We made a man of him, we took him out of jail (and other folks too perhaps), we've paid his debts over and over again—we set him up in Parliament, and gave him a house in town and country, and where he don't dare show his face, the shabby sneak! We've given him the horse he rides, and the dinner he eats . . . | Mered R 146 My beautiful! I think that God made you, and has given you to me | Stevenson MP 14 I have been to school in both countries, and I found, in the boys of the North, something at once rougher and more tender | Butler Essays 230 the Duke of Argyll has put the matter as soundly as I have yet seen it stated. "It seems to me," he wrote, . . . | Ward M 138 I have heard from him regularly for the last six months. I have often wished to tell you; but I was afraid you might misunderstand me, and—my courage failed me | Spencer A 1.356 At that time I was, and have since remained, one of those classed by Dr. Johnson as fools—one whose motive in writing books was not, and never has been, that of making money | Stevenson JHF 60 Life has been pleasant, I liked it; yes, sir, I used to like it | Doyle S 5.105 Has she said anything yet? No, she has not. And yet there have been times when the poor girl has wanted to speak, and yet could not quite bring herself to take the plunge. I have tried to help her, but I dare say I did it clumsily, and scared her off from it. She has spoken about my old family, and our reputation, and I always felt it was leading to the point; but somehow it turned off before we got there | ib 5.185 you will kindly tell me what has happened, when it happened, how it happened, and what Dr. H. has to do with the matter | Holmes A 134 The Professor has been to see me. Came in, glorious, at about twelve o'clock | Shaw Ms 2 Wheres your luggage?—I left it at the station [when I was there]. Ive walked up from Haslemere [that is how I am here] | Wells Cl 190 I have been twice to Russia since the Revolution and I was there several times before it | After the Revolution St. Petersburg became Petrograd, and now it has become Leningrad.

Generic Preterit.

5.5. The preterit is in a few proverbial sentences used generically for what is supposed to be true of all times:

Sh Ado II. 3.65 Men were deceiuers euer | Faint heart never won fair lady. This is "a sort of stylistic trick to make the hearer himself draw the conclusion that what has hitherto been true is so still and will remain so to the end of time" (PG 259; cp. the Greek gnomic aorist).

Preterit for Before-Past.

5.6(1). The simple preterit is often used for the before-past after the conjunction *after*, cp. the corresponding use of the present tense, above 2.3(3):

Sh Gent II 5.13 after they cloas'd in earnest, they parted very fairely in iest [= when they had closed] | Fielding T 3.80 [it] was at Bath, soon after you left my aunt | Richardson G 84 Mr. Reeves, after Sir John went away, said . . . | Di D 82 I thought of him very much after I went to bed | ib 732 for years after it occurred, I dreamed of it often | Hawthorne S 106 after Pearl grew big enough to run about, she amused herself in gathering flowers | Shaw C 229 he stood motionless after she disappeared | Kipl L 71 Dick was silent after he handed Torpenhow the filled pipe.

After he was in = 'after he had got into' in Di D 38 some time after he was in his hammock that night, I heard him repeat to Ham.

5.6(2). Similar examples of the simple preterit for the before-past instead of the more usual pluperfect after *as soon as*, *before* and *until*:

AV John 11.29 Assoone as she heard that, she arose quickely | Goldsm V 2.211 As soon as he left us, Sir William very politely stept up to our new niece | Goldsm 631 he dropped the letter before he went [= had gone] ten yards from the door | that happened before I met you [= had met] | Doyle S 2.133 I determined to wait until I got back to town before telling my story to the police.

Cf. the pluperfect in 6.4.

On the imaginative use of the preterit see ch. IX, on its use in indirect speech see ch. X.

Perfect for Before-Future.

5.6(3). The use of the perfect for before-future time in temporal and conditional clauses corresponds exactly with the use of the present tense for future time dealt with above 2.5.

Examples: Ch A 3563 But whan thou hast . . . Ygeten us thise kneding-tubbes three, Than shaltow hange hem in the roof ful hye | Sh Cymb V. 5.323 let it be confiscate, so soone As I haue receyv'd it | Wiv II. 1.99 lead him on with a fine baited delay, till hee hath pawn'd his horses to mine host of the Garter | Err V. 1.115 | Di D 408 I shall be glad when her marriage has taken place | Poe 256 When you have signed it [the cheque], I will hand you the letter | Hardy R 344 By the time I have had something to eat it will be after three | They must wait till the God who made them has made them victorious | We shall start at five if it has stopped raining by that time.

Tenses with *since.*

5.7(1). *Since* is used as an adverb, as a preposition, and as a conjunction. As an adverb it generally means 'from that time till now' or 'between then and now'; as a preposition it similarly refers to the present time, indicating the beginning of a period extending to the present day, and therefore requires the perfect (while *after* points to one definite moment in the past); hence the difference in: Wars have become more cruel since the invention of gunpowder = Wars became more cruel after the invention of gunpowder. In speaking of a dead person one will say: "He became more sober after his marriage" as the sobriety is thought of as something in the past; in speaking of a living person: "He has become more sober since his marriage", because the sobriety is thought of as extending to the present.

Cf. also Wells N 44 What I understood at this time and what I have since come to understand.

The difference between the adverb and the conjunction is seen in Sheridan 190 'Tis now six months since Lady Teazle made me the happiest of men, and I have been the most miserable dog ever since!

5.7(2). When the conjunction *since* has a purely temporal sense, it means 'from the time when . . . till now'; hence the natural thing is for the main verb to be in the perfect, and for the dependent clause to be in the preterit:

Roister 48 There hath grown no grasse on my heele since I went hence | Sh Tp V. 1.282 I haue bin in such a pickle since I saw you last | Sheridan 234 You haven't been there, I believe, since I fitted up this room | Shelley L 651 Since I last wrote to you, I have seen the ruins of Rome | Macaulay E 4.105 four times, since the authority of the Church of Rome was established in Western Christendom, has the human intellect risen up against her yoke | Ru S 47 I have put it in large type, because the course of matters since it was written, has made it perhaps better worth attention | Haggard S 12 I have never seen my boy, since he was a tiny baby.

Thus also in the following passage, where *are wiped* = 'have been wiped' (cf. 8.1): Sh H4A II. 4.170 thy lippes are scarce wip'd, since thou drunk'st last.

5.7(3). But in former times the distinction between the two tenses was not so strict as now, hence we have Sh H5 IV. 7.58 I was not [now: I have not been] angry since I came to France, Vntill this instant | Cy IV. 2.190 Since death of my deer'st mother It did not speake [= now: has not spoken] before (Cf. Abbott Sh. § 347).

5.7(4). With *always* and *(n)ever* we may, of course, have the preterit in accordance with the rule 5.1(6):

Roister 33 I was nere so shoke vp afore since I was borne | Sh Wiv IV. 5.103 I neuer prosper'd, since I forswore my selfe at Primero.

5.7(5). It is natural to have the pluperfect of both verbs in cases like Thack P 248 Now, Miss Laura, since she had learned to think for herself . . . had only been half pleased with Pen's general conduct and bearing.

5.8(1). Sometimes *since* comes to mean 'from the beginning of some (more or less protracted) state':

Sh H4A II. 4.178 I neuer dealt better since I was a man [= since I became a man] | Hml III. 2.68 Since my deere soule was mistris of my choyse, And could of men distinguish, her election Hath seal'd thee for her selfe | Spect 28 her husband has been in love with her ever since he knew her | Swift J 115 Steele came not, nor never did twice, since I knew him, to any appointment | thus frequently with *knew*: Cowper L 1.70, Di T 1.240, Mered R 178 | Cowper 1.301 We never had any intercourse with the family, though ever since we lived here [= came to live here] we have enjoyed the range of their pleasure grounds | Peacock M 21 what has been, since Britain was Britain, the alpha and omega of British conversation [the weather] | Bennett RS 127 [the bell] it's been out of order ever since I was here.

5.8(2). A further dislocation takes place when this use of *since* = 'from the beginning of . . .' is combined with the perfect tense, i. e. when instead of 'since he lived' (= 'since he came to live') we get 'since he has lived' = 'during the time he has lived' with the perfect = 'inclusive' present (cf. 4.6):

Ch E 1545 I have wept many a tere Ful prively, sin I have had a wyf | Spect 164 there has not been a law-suit in the parish since he has liv'd among them | Fielding 5.543 I never had a robbery committed in my house since I have kept it | Di DC 5 there have not been many [birds] since we have lived here | ib 310, 322, 623 | Di T 1.212 I have known this, night and day, since I have known you in your home | Thack N 249 Since he has been at home he has spent more than his income | ib 364, 682, GE Mm 200, Harraden D 146, F 48, Doyle B 59, 65, 174, Pinero M 6, Walpole Cp 105 | Di DC 781 she might have married twenty times since you have been gone [= since you left] | Locke W 179 I have been a miserable man since you have been away | Mason F 273 it is only since I have been blind that I have begun to see | Marshall Sorry Sch 180 since I have grown up —I am twenty-five, you know—I do not believe in it.

Cp. also Fielding 1.210 While you had money . . . and since you have had none, my house has been besieg'd all day by creditors.

5.8(3). The same phenomenon shifted back to the past:

GE M 2.183 Stephen's society seemed to have become much more interesting since Maggie had been there [= since she had come] | Hankin 2.163 I thought we'd been so happy together since we'd been engaged || Worth S 32 the children had lived with their aunt since the father had been gone | id 113 | Beresford G 102 the same air of formal respect that he had exhibited towards her ever since she had been at the office | Dreiser F 258 she seemed weaker than at any time since he had known her.

5.8(4). We have a different dislocation of tense after *since*, when it takes the present in *since I can remember* = since the beginning of the time I can remember:

Brontë V 361 I have had these impulses since I can remember | Collins W 213 it makes her look, for the first time in her life, since I remember her, like a decent woman | Bentley T 249 I have played a great deal ever since I can remember | Caine E 60, McKenna Sh 305.

5.8(5). Correspondingly in the past:

Walpole SC 206 She had always, ever since she could remember, been intrigued by him | Rose Macaulay T 177 She had always, ever since she remembered, impersonated some boy or youth.

5.8(6). With the present tense in the main verb, to indicate the distance in time from now, we find both the preterit and the perfect in the *since*-clause:

Sh As II. 7.24 'Tis but an houre agoe, since it was nine | Shelley L 488 It is nearly a fortnight since I have returned from Vevai | Shaw C 55 It is nearly three years since I have had a new dress | Beresford G 286 how long is it since you and your husband have separated | Marshall Sorry Scheme 14 It's two months since you've been to church.

It is an age since you have been here = since you were here last!

5.8(7). If this is shifted to the past, we have of course the pluperfect:

Thack P 196 What years ago it seemed since he had first entered that room!

5.8(8). It is clear that when *since* is causal, = 'inasmuch as, as, because', it may be connected with any tense.—See a great many quotations for the various uses of *since* in Fijn van Draat's papers ESt. 32. 370 (under the misleading title 'The loss of the prefix *ge*-), Anglia 33. 145, 35. 155.

Inchoative *first*.

5.9(1). *First* is used in an interesting way (not noticed in NED) when it serves to denote, or to emphasize, the beginning of a state, or action, or some change of state: *when first I knew him* = 'when I made his acquaintance', *when we were first married* = 'in the beginning of our marriage', etc. (*When we were married* without *first* might be taken to imply that the marriage had been dissolved).

Osborne 125 that quiet you lived in when I first knew you | Burns 3.63 When we were first acquent, your locks were like the raven | Scott A 1.207 It imposed upon me for some time when I first knew him | Tenn 39 since first I knew them well | Collins W 124 He had not altered, at any rate, since I first knew him | Benson Dodo 68 you've never made a fuss since I knew you first | Gosse Father and Son 107 perhaps she may have seen, when we knew her first, some forty-five summers | Mackenzie SA 198 all alone just as we used to be when we were first married twenty years ago | Parker R 313 often when they were first married, K used to watch him | Collins W 182 no man tolerates a rival in his wife's affections, when he first marries, whatever he may do afterwards | ib 160 another love which was not there when I first promised to be Sir Percival's wife | Wordsw P 3.3 nothing cheered our way till first we saw The chapel | Di P 272 I saw he was drunk when he first came into the room | Doyle S 6.207 she came with her to England when they first left Australia eighteen months ago | Stevenson T 65 I see [vg = saw] that when you first came in | Dickinson C 26 When first I was brought into contact with the west.

An old example is Sir Orfeo 121 Seþþen we first togider were, Ones wroþ neuer we nere.

5.9(2). We have a corresponding use of *first* with verbal substantives, etc. (*At their first landing* does not imply that they landed several times):

Sh R2 II. 1.290 Perhaps they had [come] ere this, but that they stay The first departing of the King for Ireland | Defoe R 289 at their first landing | Fielding T 3.105 at our first marriage | Austen S 88 the road which they had travelled on first coming to Barton | Di N 397 N experienced some pain on first awakening next morning | ib 570 that turmoil which led to your first acquaintance | Macaulay E 4.286 In 1778, on the first breaking out of the war with France | McCarthy 2.269 During the time from the first outbreak of the Civil War to its close | Hope In 28 almost since her first coming to London.

Chapter VI.

The Pluperfect.

6.1. The pluperfect (Lat. plusquamperfectum) is the tense-phrase formed by help of the preterit of the auxiliary *had* (more rarely *was*, cf. ch. III) and the second participle. The Joint Committee recommends the term *Past Perfect*, which I cannot use in this book, as I use the word "past" exclusively for the time relation and not for a grammatical tense.

The pluperfect primarily serves to denote before-past time or a retrospective past—two things which stand in the same relation to each other as the preterit and the perfect, but which cannot easily be kept apart. "His wife left him (last year)", and "his wife has left him" both become "his wife had left him" when projected into the past.

6.2. The relation between two successive incidents in the past, X and Y, e. g. my seeing him (X) and his seeing me (Y), may be graphically represented thus

————X————Y————(now).

Linguistically they may be expressed by means of two preterits:

I saw him (first), and then he saw me—or, combined, I saw him before he saw me.

But if we use the pluperfect:

I had seen him before he saw me.

I saw him before he had seen me.

He saw me after I had seen him.

He did not see me till I had seen him—the two incidents are *grammatically connected* by means of the tenses.

6.3. The pluperfect is used both in main sentences and in subordinate clauses; the conjunctions chiefly used are *when*, *after*, *before*, *till*. A few examples of this tense from Stevenson's T may here suffice:

5 Nor would he allow anyone to leave the inn till he had drunk himself sleepy | 7 At first I had supposed "the dead man's chest" to be that identical big box of his . . . and the thought had been mingled in my nightmares with that of the one-legged seafaring man. But by this time we had all long ceased to pay any particular notice to the song | 84 before I had heard a dozen words, I would not have shown myself for all the world.

6.4. In clauses beginning with *after*, we have already seen that the simple preterit often means the same thing as the pluperfect (5.6); I shall here give a few examples of the latter tense, which must be considered the normal tense:

Ch T 4.1170 so after that he longe hadde hir compleyned . . . He gan tho teris wypen of ful dreye | More U 28 After that we had once or twise mette . . . they for a certayne space tooke their leaue of vs | Di P 327 Now, said Wardle, after a substantial lunch . . . had been done ample justice to | ib 341 within ten minutes after he had received the assurance that the thing was impossible, he was conducted into the outer office | Bennett Cd 204 And after they had chatted a little . . . he offered to display Machin House to Mr. Myson | Doyle G 69 after the woman had gone to bed, he began about Scotland.

After *when* the simple preterit can sometimes be used, though the two events mentioned follow one after the other, and the preterit is thus equivalent to a pluperfect: When he came back from India, he was made a member of Parliament | When he got the letter, he burned it without looking at it.

But this is not always possible; the pluperfect is required in: When he had read the letter, he burned it | When he had finished writing that book, he took a long rest.

We may say either: "As soon as he discovered them, he ran away", and "As soon as he had discovered them, he ran away".

In the following two quotations, the use of the pluperfect in the *when*-clauses, where the simple preterit would have been normal, seems to have been induced by the pluperfect in the main sentence: Hardy R 374 when his mind had been weaker his heart had led him to speak out | Rose Macaulay P 8 When they had been little they had watched each other's plates with hostile eyes.

6.5. We may have two successive pluperfects as in Thompson H Spencer 34 as two and a half years had elapsed since he had made any money, Spencer returned to London.

(This, transposed into the present time, would be: two and a half years have elapsed since he made any money).

6.6. Note the use for past time in Stevenson T 152 "I *had* soon *told* my story" = I told my story, and that did not take long: the speaker anticipates the time when the incident he is relating is already finished. Similarly in

Rose Macaulay P 133 A little later, when she had revived, we had had tea together, and I had put a few questions to her | Maugham Painted V. 240 she left the room. In a moment Sister St. Joseph came in. She was come to say good-bye. [Or this is probably represented speech: she said she was come] | James RH 18 In the evening, as he was smoking his cigar on the verandah, a light quick step pressed the gravel of the garden-path, and in a moment a young man, rising before them, had made his bow to Cecilia. Cf. 3.3(7).

6.7. The pluperfect *had hoped* does not always refer to the before-past time, but often is temporally the same as the preterit *hoped*, only it implies that the (past) hope was not fulfilled: "We had hoped he would recover" (but he did not). If we say "We hoped he would recover" we leave the question open whether he recovered or not. Cf. the use of the perfect infinitive after *hoped* and *thought*, below 10.7.

Sh Ado V. 4.114 I had well hop'd thou wouldst haue denied Beatrice [but in the same sense Hml V. 1.267 I hop'd thou should'st haue bin my Hamlets wife: I thought thy bride-bed to haue deckt (sweet maid) And not t'haue strew'd thy graue] | Collins W 72 I had hoped that all painful subjects of conversation were exhausted between us | id M 331 I had hoped to hear that things were all smooth and pleasant again.

This *had hoped* may be followed by the perfect infinitive (cf. 10.7): Lamb R 37 I had hoped to have seen you at our house | Collins M 182 I had hoped to have recompensed your services, and to have parted with you without Miss Verinder's name having been openly mentioned between us | Swinb L 108 I had hoped to have seen you and Clara pull together.

Cp. the pluperfect in speaking indefinitely of the past: *I hadn't expected that.*

Cf. the use of *could have hoped* instead of the impossible *had could hope* (si j'avais pu espérer) in Di D 170 If I could have hoped that Steerforth was there, I would have lurked about until he came out alone.

Chapter VII.

Tenses of the Verbids.

Infinitive.

7.1(1). In the infinitive we have only two tenses, the present infinitive, *[to] take*, and the perfect infinitive *[to] have taken.* The former refers not only to the present time, but generally to the same time as is indicated by the main verb, thus

it does him good
it did him good
it has done him good
it had done him good
it will do him good
it will have done him good
} to take long walks.

Thus also when the main verb is in the preterit of imagination:

if it did him good
if it had done him good
it would do him good
it would have done him good
} to take long walks.

7.1(2). There is an idiomatic expression "He has been known to write fifty letters a day", where the idea of the past really logically belongs to the infinitive rather than to the main verb (it is known now that he has written [or wrote]—or, he is known to have written . . .): Benson Dodo 6 they have been known to last a fortnight | Hardy R 224 Dead folks have been known to come and claim their own.

7.1(3). There is a curious preterit infinitive in the dialect of Somerset: I *let'n zeed* the house | I *let her had'n,* in which the indication of the past, which is obscured in the form of *let*, is shifted on to the infinitive. Thus also with *help*, as that form is also = Standard E *helped*: I *help mounted'n* 'I helped to mount him' (Elworthy, *Wordbook* XIX).

7.2(1). After verbs and other expressions which naturally have reference to futurity the present infinitive may with some right be said to take the place of the missing future infinitive: I *hope* to come | I *expect* to come | he *intends (means, wants)* to leave us | he *longs* to go there | he *is about* to leave us | *in order* to get there in time | he *is sure* to get there in time, etc.

7.2(2). The same element of futurity may of course be referred to something in the past:

he expected to get away after a short time | Sh H4A I. 3.22 You were about to speake | James RH 410 She was softly crying, or about so to cry | By DJ 1.163 He stood in act to speak [= the more usual: was on the point of speaking] | in 1903 he went to America never to return.

7.2(3). The present tense of *may* often serves to denote possibility, permission, etc. in the present time: he may be rich for all I know | he may be here already | you may smoke here if you like.

But very often the idea of possibility refers to a future time, and thus *may* comes in itself to denote futurity, though of a vaguer and more uncertain kind than *will*:

he may recover yet | it may rain to-morrow | you may find the door closed when you get there | Sh Hml IV. 5.42 wee know what we are, but know not what we may be | Doyle S 6.13 My client will certainly do what I may advise | Galsw Frat 181 "It may make that man furious". "It will."

In clauses like the following *may* is chiefly used in formal or slightly formal language:

I hope that you may arrive safely | Di F 445 I hope that I may never kill him | Di Do 442 I desire that our conversation may refer to any other subject | Shaw Pur 33 I hope he wont come! O! I pray that he may not come.

7.2(4). In these cases we might say that *may* keeps its value of expressing present possibility and that the infinitive following it has acquired the meaning of futurity; but it is more natural to say that it is the auxiliary *may* that denotes futurity. A similar remark applies even more strongly to the present tenses of *will* and *shall*, which in many or even most combinations have lost their original meaning of volition and obligation, and serve exclusively to denote futurity; but the treatment of these forms and their functions must be reserved for future chapters (XV—XVIII).

There are other auxiliaries which in much the same way as *may* refer now to the present time and now to the future: it is not easy to distinguish to which of these 'times' an obligation or duty refers, cf. You *must (ought to, should)* be careful (now, or in future). On the way in which these auxiliaries, which originally were preterits (in the subjunctive) have come to be applied to present time, see 9.5(5).

7.2(5). The auxiliary of the future *(shall, will)* is often shifted on to such a verb as *hope* and *expect*, because it is impossible to say "I hope to shall see":

I shall hope to see you when we return to town (Di L 173) really means a present hope of a future visit. Thus also Sh Lr III. 7.69 He that will thinke to liue, till he be old | Swift UL 105 If I live till Monday, I shall hope to see you, perhaps for the last time | Aust P 149 we will hope, at some future period, to enjoy many returns of that delightful intercourse | [Leigh Hunt in Tenn L 1.188 Shall I hope to see you at Carlyle's lecture on Monday?] | Spencer A 2.259 On Friday next I will hope to meet you | Shaw 1.61 I shall expect a mortgagee to take his share of the risk | id P 277 I shall expect Lord W. to look at the matter as a reasonable man | Maxwell F 79 I shan't expect to see you for ages | Merriman V 59 | ib 333 | Pinero Q 189 || Di D 360 he intimated that when she came home he should hope to have the pleasure of entertaining me [back-shifted from *I shall h.*].

When there is no infinitive following, the same use of *shall hope* is rare:

Sh Hml III. 1.40 I do wish . . . so shall I hope your vertues Will bring him to his wonted way againe | Hankin 3.119 We shall expect you when we see you.

Cf. Dan. "Jeg *vil* da håbe han kommer" ('I do hope he will turn up').

Perfect Infinitive.

7.3(1). The perfect infinitive (which does not seem to have developed till the ME period) corresponds, where it is used with real temporal meaning, notionally to the preterit and pluperfect as well as to the perfect. Thus *he may have seen her* is equal to *perhaps he saw her* or *perhaps he has seen her*; in *he may have seen her before we arrived* it is = *perhaps he had seen her* . . . It is very frequent after verbs like *can*, *may*, *must*, further after *remember* (*I remember to have seen her* = 'remember seeing her') and in some other cases, as seen in the following quotations:

Sh As IV. 1.23 to haue seene much, and to haue nothing, is to haue rich eyes and poore hands | Mcb I. 4.30 Noble Banquo, That hast no lesse deseru'd, nor must be knowne No lesse to haue done so | Lamb R 95 I have had the honour once to have been admitted to the tea-table of Miss Kelly | Wordsworth 207 Seven years, alas! to have received No tidings of an only child | Tenn 254 'Tis better to have loved and lost Than never to have loved at all | Darwin L 2.227 I am a sinner not to have written you ere this | Stevenson MB 298 I can remember to have written the date and the place where I then was | Doyle S 5.186 the boy's sympathies are known to have been strongly with his mother | ib 5.189 a boy and a young man were reported to have been seen leaving a neighbouring station | James S 50 she was sufficiently better again to have come down stairs [= so well that she had . . .]. It was there that, as usual, I found her | ib 81 How happy Miss B. must have been to have had to be so mute! | Black Ph 3 and Papa—after pretending to have inspected all the harness—takes the reins | Lowndes Ivy 105 I happened to have been away all yesterday.

That the perfect infinitive corresponds also to the simple preterit (and not only to the perfect) is seen, for instance, in

Hope D [p. ?] "You meant that I know." "I suppose I must have" [must have meant that = I suppose I did] | Hart BT 102 Did other people overhear Mr. Burgoyne's remarks?—Oh, I'm quite sure that they must have || Dane L 29 He may have heard me: I think he did [= it is possible that he heard me].

7.3(2). The perfect infinitive may also be notionally a before-future:

This day week I hope to have finished my work [= I hope I shall have f.] | Swift T 127 no part of knowledge is in fewer hands, than that of discerning when to have done | Hope R 269 I cried out to the people to have done with their silly shouting | Butler E 54 Waiting for me to have done washing. Cf. the imperative *have done* 7.4(2).

The imaginative Perfect Infinitive will be treated separately, 10.6.

Imperative.

7.4(1). This section is placed here for convenience' sake, though the imperative is no verbid. The form of the Imperative is the same as the Infinitive, i. e. the crude or common form of the verb. Its meaning is a request, which may range from the strictest command to the humblest prayer. As a request has always reference to the future time, we should expect the imperative to be always in the same tense: we need not specify *Come here!* or *Take that!* as either Present or Future Imperative. But as a matter of fact we find a few cases of Perfect Imperatives.

7.4(2). *Have done* is frequent as an imperative; though from a formal point of view this is a perfect, it has (like all notional imperatives) reference to the future and means the same thing as "Stop at once!" or "Don't go on!": the urgency of the demand is emphasized through the form, which implies that the person addressed should already before this have ceased the offensive action. Examples:

Ch MP 5.492 Have doon and let us wende! | Towneley 76 haue done and drede you noght | Marlowe E 1854 Madam, haue done with care and sad complaint | Sh R3 I. 3.215 Haue done thy charme, thou hateful wither'd hagge (also Err I. 2.72 | Gent II. 4.99 | Cy IV. 2.229 | H6B I. 4.41) | Swift J 79 Make haste, have done with preambles | Gay BP 10 So, my dear, have done upon this subject | Brontë V 16 Have done trying that child, Graham | Di Do 179 you perfidious goblin, have done! | Swinburne L 112 Have done with the country.

Cp. also: Collins W 140 Let us have done with business, now.

Be done is rare as an imperative: Stevenson B 365 marry him in the name of Mary, and be done!

A dialectal form, in which *adone* evidently is from *have done* and is followed by *do*, is seen in Kaye Smith GA 142 Adone-do wud your crying (also ib 276).

7.4(3). In the imperative *be gone* was formerly very frequent in urgent appeals or commands; it served to express the same wish of immediate action as in *have done* (7.4(2)). Examples:

Marlowe F (1616) 1009 Away, sweet Mephistophilis, be gone | id E 1143 therefore be gone | id F 1223 Be gone quickly | AV 2 Sam. 13.15 Amnon said vnto her, Arise, be gone.

This is curiously combined with *to-morrow*, which shows that the original force of the perf. imper. had been weakened: Sh Alls I. 3.261 Begon to morrow.

Nowadays *be gone* is not often used in this sense; its place has been taken by *be off!*, which really contains the same prolepsis. But *Don't be gone too long!* may of course still be heard: it means 'don't stay away too long', cf. on this use of *be gone* 3.3(5).—Cf. *be going* 13.5(8).

Participles.

7.5(1). The usual names of the two participles, *present participle* and *past participle*, are not very felicitous, for, as we shall presently see, they may both refer to any time (or to no time at all). Nor would the names, *active* and *passive participle* be adequate, for the second participle is extensively used actively. We shall therefore do well simply to call them the *first participle* (always ending in *-ing*) and the *second participle* (ending sometimes in a dental stop: *handed*, *loved*, *sent*, sometimes in *-n*: *seen*, and sometimes having no particular ending: *sung*, *put*).

The First Participle.

7.5(2). When the first participle is used as an adjective, as in *a charming young lady* or *she is very charming*, it has no more reference to any particular time than adjectives like *beautiful*.

When its use is of a purely verbal character, as shown, for instance, by its having an object, the same is true to a great extent. In all cases like:

he came, carrying a heavy burden on his back
he comes, carrying a heavy burden on his back
he will come, carrying a heavy burden on his back,—

we have a vague simultaneity with something else, rather than any definite reference to one particular time.

While *the coming war* refers to the future on account of the temporal peculiarity of *come* (see 2.7(3)), there is no reference to time in *a coming wench* ('forward'), *a going concern* or *a church-going man*.

7.5(3). The expression *for the time being* refers not only (as said in NED) to the present time, but also to the time (past or future) mentioned or implied in the narrative of which it forms a part.

Lawrence L 211 For the time being he left it at that | Galsw SS 64 the war made us all into barbarians, for the time being | Beresford R 83 He had, for the time being, lost his admirable detachment and become a partisan | ib 178 What I want you to agree upon . . . is that you will sink them [your political differences] for the time being.

7.5(4). In some collocations of both participles of the same verb they serve to express the distinction between the completed and the not yet completed action; this is the nearest approach we have to a past and present participle:

Wordsw 193 with budding, fading, faded flowers | Hewlett Q 163 said my lord, with narrowed, ever narrowing eyes | Carlyle FR 385 an indignant multitude, now gathered and gathering there | NP out of decaying and decayed material | Kaye Smith HA 281 Starvecrow had changed . . . the unchanged, unchanging Stella might have been his instead of this changed Starvecrow | Mottram EM 260 he had come there to find the War finishing, then finished. A few other examples III 16.8$_6$ p. 352. Cf. also below 8.3(2).

The Second Participle.

7.6(1). We must here distinguish two classes of verbs, *conclusive* and *non-conclusive.* In the first class the action is either confined to one single moment, e. g. *catch, surprise, awake, leave, end, kill,* or implies a final aim, e. g. *make, bring about, adorn, construct, beat.* If the second participle of such verbs is used as an adjunct, we see plainly that it is a *perfect* participle: it denotes the result of an action in the past: a *paid* bill | a *conquered* town | a *lost* battle | *acquired* wealth | a *captured* enemy | his *collected* works | *armed* men | *rejected* articles | *married* people | a *spoilt* child | a *reserved* seat | a *trained* nurse.

In the second class, non-conclusive verbs, we find verbs denoting feelings, states of mind, etc.: the activity, if any such is implied, is not begun in order to be finished. As examples we may mention *love*, *hate*, *praise*, *blame*, *see*, *hear*. If the participle is used as an adjunct, it does not indicate anything about time: an *honoured* colleague | an *admired* friend | a *despised* scoundrel | a *merited* rebuke | a *reserved* expression on his face | the *obserued* of all obseruers (Hml III. 1.162). If such a combination is placed in a sentence denoting some time in the past, the participle indicates merely contemporaneousness: he was a *well-known* barrister, etc.

The names *conclusive* and *non-conclusive* are mine. But the distinction itself is found in various grammarians, with greatest clarity, perhaps, in Diez, *Grammatik der roman. Spr.* 3.202, and H. Lindroth (PBB 31.238 and *Om adjektivering af particip*, Lund 1906); cf. also Mätzner, *Engl. Gramm.* 2.64; see PG 272 ff.

7.6(2). In the following quotation we see how the author has felt the want of a tense distinction in the second participle and has been obliged to express it by means of subjuncts: Spencer A 1.336 The very conception of training, as carried on in the past and as still carried on.

The addition of *once* makes the second participle of a non-conclusive verb into a past participle: Hardy R 176 the sudden sight of a once-loved one who is beloved no more.

7.6(3). The second participle denotes inclusive time in Bennett A 65 a youngster only *two years established* in business (established = who has been e.).

7.6(4). The second participle of some, but not all, intransitive verbs may be used as a past participle (active); cf. 3.8(3): a *fallen* angel | a fallen soldier | a fallen woman | the *risen* sun | *escaped* prisoners | his *deceased* patron | Swift J 38 I visited a lady just *come* to town | Hardy R 141 a rumour newly come to her ears | ib 142 the *returned* lover. *Travelled* means 'who has travelled or is experienced in travelling', though its use in Wells U 43 is not quite natural: a world population *travelled* and *travelling* to an extent.

But it is not possible to say *a come boat* or *an arrived guest* or *a sailed ship.*

Perfect Participle.

7.7(1). The combination of *having* with the second participle bears the same relation to the simple first participle as the perfect does to the present tense; in some combinations there is hardly any difference: *The clock striking ten*—or, *the clock having struck ten*—we shook hands and left. Other examples will be given in the chapter on nexus-subjunct (vol. V).

This compound participle did not come into existence, so far as I know, till the 16th century. Mr. N. Haislund sends me quotations from Tottel's Misc. 38, 240 and 242, More U 21 [= p. 2], and Spenser's FQ Prol. 1, Canto 1.26, Canto 2.27, Canto 4.38, Canto 5.44, besides three from Sh: VA 553, 828, Lucr 345. I do not find it mentioned in Franz's Sh-Gramm. I have noted only one example from Sh's plays (besides Launcelot's nonsense, Merch II. 2.142): Hml II. 1.43 him you would sound, *Hauing* euer *seene* in the prenominate crimes The youth you breath of guilty. Cf. AV Mark 12. 28 And one of the scribes came, and *hauing heard* them reasoning together . . . asked him . . .

In the literature of the following centuries examples abound, though the form is not often used colloquially; a few quotations may here suffice:

Swift 3.3 Having therefore consulted with my wife and some of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to sea | ib 4 Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the sea, made a shift to get clear of the ship | Di P 285 Having accomplished the main end and object of his journey by the exposure of Jingle, Mr. Pickwick resolved on immediately returning to London. . . . I have just been thinking, Sam, that having left a good many things at Mrs. Bardell's, I ought to arrange for taking them away | Bennett Cd 38 Having revengefully settled the hash of Mr. Duncalf, they went into church | ib 46 Having sworn that he would mention the club to Etches, he was bound to mention it.

7.7(2). In the passive we notice the same two meanings of *being taken* as in *is taken* (see 8.1(2)), and the tendency has therefore been to use *having been taken* wherever ambiguity might be feared. Thus in AV Luke 3.21 it came to passe that Iesus also *being baptized*, and praying, the heauen was opened. The Revised Version, to avoid ambiguity, substitutes *Jesus also having been baptized.* (The 20th C. Transl. has 'after Jesus' own baptism).

Cf. also Bunyan P 151 These things are certainly true, having been confirmed by many Testimonies | Di P 277 And all these solemn proceedings having been satisfactorily concluded, Mr. Grummer was ignominiously ordered out | Rose Macaulay DA 129 [she] rebuked herself for forgetting what she really knew quite well, having been told it often.

In the following quotation *provoked* and *calmed* refer to generic time, and *being provoked* is the corresponding perfect (= having been p.): Sh Tro IV. 5.99 The yongest sonne of Priam. . . . Not soone prouok't, nor being prouok't, soone calm'd.

7.7(3). With the following examples cf. what was said above (4.6(5)):

Austen M 199 in the drawing-room he certainly was; having been just long enough arrived to be ready for dinner | ib 255 she being gone home to nurse a sick maid.

Tenses of the "ing".

7.8(1). Substantives do not ordinarily admit of any indications of time (cf. PG 282); *his movement* may correspond in meaning to 'he moves (is moving)', 'he moved (was moving)' or 'he will move (will be moving)'. Similarly the ing (the verbal substantive in ing) had originally, and to a great extent still has, no reference to time: *on account of his coming* may be equal to 'because he comes' or 'because he came' or 'he will come', according to the connexion in which it occurs. *I intend seeing the king* refers to the future, *I remember seeing the king* to the past, or rather the ing as such implies neither, and if different times are thought of, it depends on the meaning of *intend* and *remember*, cf. also Shaw P 257 I have no recollection of asking you to take the trouble. There is also reference to the past, when the ing is used with *on (upon)* (= immediately after):

Austen M 306 upon this being understood he had a variety of questions | Di N 302 on Nicholas receiving this intelligence, she added . . . | Hardy R 41 on the door being opened she perceived an extemporized couch.

Cf. also frequent instances like Wilde D 36 This is *your doing* [= what you have done].

7.8(2). No harm is done by the fact that the ing is tenseless in cases like Sh Merch IV. 1.341 I thanke thee Jew for teaching me that word. But in some cases it may cause obscurity, e. g. Sh Merch V. 1.120 Giue order to my seruants, that they take No note at all of our being absent hence [= that we have been absent]. Therefore the new form *having done*, etc., was created in ElE; it is found a few times in Sh: Ven. 810 Mine eares . . . Do burne them selues, for hauing so offended | Gent I. 3.16 To let him spend his time no more at home; Which would be great impeachment to his age, In hauing knowne no trauaile in his youth | Tp III. 1.19 'Twill weepe for hauing wearied you. For examples from Sidney and Spenser see Blume G 41.

Later examples: Fielding T 1.8 by its having detained him (frequent in Fielding) | Cowper L 2.110 how I hated myself yesterday for having ever wrote it [John Gilpin] | Johnson R 54 he thought himself happy in having found a man who knew the world | Austen M 216 I had forgotten having ever told you half so much | Shaw A 65 they would . . . object strongly to his [Jesus's] not having been a married man himself.

Similarly with the old *being*, where now *having* would be used: Osborne 98 she sends mee the news of her sister Izabella's being come over.

Having been gone in the following quotation corresponds to the use mentioned in 4.6(5): Defoe Pl 22 the number of people was lessened by so great a multitude having been gone into the country.

7.8(3). With *after* we find both the simple ing and the perfect with *having* (cf. 2.6(1), 5.6(1)); the latter, for example, in Cowper L 2.88 After having lived twenty years at Olney, we are on the point of leaving it | Sheridan 195 after having married you, I should never pretend to taste again | Brontë P 77 the portress, after having answered my question, opened the folding-doors.—Similarly after *on* (cf. 7.8(1)): Butler ER 154 On having rung the bell, he announced himself as a Mr. S.

7.8(4). Examples of the ing in the perfect passive:

Di P 54 certificates of her having been brought up in the way she should go when young, and of her not having departed from it when old | id D 4 I am indebted to Miss Betsy for having been born on a Friday | Wilde Imp 42 If you are not quite sure about your ever having been christened | Bennett Cd 175 his arm was not in a sling, and showed no symptom of having been damaged.

7.8(5). The same shifting of the mark of the future which we mentioned under the infinitive (*I shall hope*, 7.2(5)) is also found before an ing: Doyle R 54 I shall so look forward to seeing it: there is no future tense of the ing.

Chapter VIII.

Tenses and Auxiliaries in the Passive.

Introductory.

8.1(1). The use of the tenses in the passive is not exactly parallel to that in the active, the chief reason being that the passive is formed by means of the second participle, which, as we have seen 7.6, sometimes has no reference to time, and sometimes is a perfect participle, exactly as it is in its employment to form the active perfect (*he has killed her*).

With non-conclusive verbs there can be no doubt: the passive is in the same tense as the auxiliary: *he is admired* is a present tense, because both *is* and *admired* are present tenses, or rather *admired* is no tense; *he was admired* is a preterit. Similarly with *it is (was, has been) generally believed.* In all these cases the participle is a predicative of being (III ch. XVII) and we may therefore speak of a *passive of being.*

8.1(2). With conclusive verbs the time-relation is not so simple: sometimes the participle is a predicative of being, sometimes one of becoming, and therefore we sometimes have *a passive of being*, sometimes *a passive of becoming*,—or, to use Curme's expressions: sometimes a static, sometimes a kinetic passive. We have the former in "He is buried at Croydon" (= lies buried), the latter in "When is he to be buried?—Oh, don't you know? He has been buried already; he was buried yesterday".

In other words we may say that in such a sentence as "His bills are paid" sometimes the element of present represented by *are*, sometimes the element of perfect implied in the participle is predominant. The sentence thus may mean two things, either the present action as in "his bills are paid regularly every month" = 'he pays', or the (present) result of a past action as in "His bills are paid, so he owes nothing now" = 'he has paid'.

English in this respect resembles French, while other languages, for instance Danish and German, make a distinction here and in the first case say *betales* (or *blir betalt*) and *werden bezahlt*, in the second *er betalt* and *sind bezahlt*. The same distinction was made in OE, which used the auxiliary *weorđan* in the first and *wesan* (*beon*, *is*, etc.) in the second case; there is a valuable recent Minnesota dissertation by Louise G. Frary, "Studies in the Old Engl. Passive with special reference to the Use of *Wesan* and *Weorđan*" (Language Dissertations publ. by the Ling. Soc. of America, Baltimore 1929). After examining the syntactic and stylistic use in OE prose and poetry the author raises the question, why was this useful distinction given up in ME, and arrives at the result that the chief reason was foreign influence, not however so much from French as from the Scandinavians, in whose language *vera* was more often used than *verđa*. The passive in *-sk (-st, -s)* had no influence on English; "thus in the direct contact of daily conversation between the 'Danes' and the English, there must have been a negative influence which would tend towards the disuse of *weorđan* in the common speech"—thus the same point of view which I have maintained since 1891 with regard to the influence of Scandinavian in general and in other fields of grammar (*Studier over eng. kasus* p. 97; *Progress in Language*; *Growth and Structure*; *Language* p. 212 ff.).

I cannot help thinking that a supplementary cause of the disuse of *weorđan* was its irregularity *(weorđe wierþ wearþ wurdon)*: there is everywhere a tendency to get rid of strong irregularities either by regularisation or by suppression of the irregular word. Now it is true that *wesan* is irregular, too; but the verb was infinitely more frequent in other indispensable applications than *weorđan* and could therefore more easily survive. But, as we shall presently see, the simplification (one auxiliary instead of two) was in this case no gain for the speakers of the language, and there is in recent times a strong tendency to get rid of the deficiencies of the early MnE tense system in the passive. Where ElE had practically only one form *is taken*, the language of our own days has at its disposal four expressions:

(1) *is taken*
(2) *is being taken*
(3) *has been taken*
(4) *gets taken*,

and tends more and more to differentiate their uses so as to be in possession of a delicate instrument of thought. We shall now consider these things more in detail: for form (2) we must refer to the chapter (13.6) on the Expanded Tenses.

Curme (PMLA 28, 1913, 186) says: "Our passiv system is beggarly poor in comparison with German . . . Compare 'The door *was shut* at six, but I don't know when it *was shut*' with 'Die tür *war* um sechs geschlossen, aber ich weiß nicht, wann sie *geschlossen wurde*'. The weakness of literary English at this point is apparent. It is here not capabl of expressing thaut [i. e. thought] accuratly."

Present Tense.

8.2(1). As will be readily understood, the pure meaning of a present tense is chiefly found when habitual actions are spoken of, i. e. when the notion is completely or approximately that of generic time, e. g.

Sh Shr I. 1.39 No profit growes, where is no pleasure tane | you can't do that sort of thing. It's not done | he is easily taken in | in their family things are always settled amicably | different explanations are given of this phenomenon [= people give] | these birds are seldom seen in England | foreign names are easily forgotten | a great many children are born blind | I am called every morning at 6 | he is said to be rich | that song is sung by everybody | he always does what he is told.

8.2(2). In a conditional clause this present tense passive has either this meaning of generic time (if drugs *are taken* too often, they undermine one's health) or else it refers to some time in the future (if he *is killed* in the war, it will be the death of his mother). The latter is found in Sh Lr II. 1.112 If he be taken, he shall neuer more Be fear'd of doing harme. Cf. also Ant IV. 15.23 I dare not, Least I be taken.

8.2(3). An example of the simple present tense in the passive, where now the expanded tense *(is he being pursued)* would be used, is Sh Lr II. 1.111 Is he pursued?

8.2(4). In the second sense, where the participle really implies some action in the past, the combination of the present *is* + pple is still freely used in all those cases in which we think more of the resulting state than of the action, e. g.

The battle (the key) is lost | she is dressed | the matter is settled (decided) | I am prepared | his signature is attached to the document | the horse is tied to the gate [= stands tied] | he is tired | Kennedy R 75 All the land is mortgaged | he is engaged in writing a dictionary | the gun is loaded | the door is shut | he is married | his leg is broken.

The two meanings are combined in Seeley E 42 its [Germany's] emigration has happened too late, when the New World *is* already *carved* into States, into which its emigrants *are compelled* to enter. In the first, but not in the second of these sentences it would have been possible to substitute the perfect.

8.2(5). In the following sentences we see a clear contrast between this use of *is* to represent the present state and the preterit passive referring to the past happening which brought about the state:

GE A 80 Adam's father is drowned [= is dead]. He was drowned [= died] last night in the Willow Brook | Stevenson JHF 76 Master's made away with; he was made away with, eight days ago, when we heard him cry out.

Cf. also: he is called Tozer [= his name is], but when at school, he was called Teaser. Note further the two tenses in Coleridge B 26 the greater part have been trod under foot, and are forgotten || NP '22 He sometimes takes a long time to say things which, when they are said, seem less important than they seemed while he was saying them.

8.3(1). With verbs of the *Move* and *Change* class (III. 16.4) the combination *is changed*, etc., may either be considered the active perfect with *is* as in 3.6(1) or the passive (but without implication of an agent), while *has been changed* would imply an agent. Examples:

Sh Merch I. 1.76 you are maruellously chang'd | Lr IV. 6.9 In nothing am I chang'd But in my garments.

8.3(2). Examples of both participles used together to express a contrast of time *(changed or changing | formed or forming)* have been given in III 16.8₆ and above 7.5(4); cf. further Russell Social Reconstr 187 All these bonds are dissolving or already dissolved | Shelley 482 A breaking billow—even whilst we speak Is it not broken?

Compare further: Shelley Pr 298 your great iron bar . . . I suppose it *is* at present either made or making [= being made] | Fox 1.262 Two of the themes are published, or to be published, in America | NP '05 The Transvaal Constitution is either signed or about to be signed.

8.3(3). When the action itself is more prominent in the mind than the result, the old construction with *is* + pple is going more and more out of use, and in many cases is liable to misunderstanding. Thus in AV Matt. 5.10 Blessed are they which *are persecuted* for righteousness sake—most people would nowadays understand it as a generic saying (the persecution and blessing referring to all times), but as the Greek has a perfect participle (dediōgmenoi), the RV changed it into *they that have been persecuted*, and the 20th C. Translation has "Happy are *those that have been persecuted*". In the same way AV Luke 4.6 *that is deliuered vnto me* in the RV became *it hath been delivered unto me.* Cf. also Luke 1.13 thy prayer *is heard* | 1.19 *I am sent* to speake vnto thee |

2.11 vnto you *is borne* this day . . . a Sauiour—expressions which in the 20th C. Tr. have become *has been heard* | *have been sent* | *has been born.*

Further examples of *is*, where now *has been* would have been used or would at any rate be clearer: Sh Sonn 76 Spending againe what is already spent . . . So is my loue still telling what is told | Mcb I. 4.1 Is execution done on Cawdor? | Mcb I. 4.53 let that bee; Which the eye feares, when it is done, to see | Mcb IV. 3.203 Your castle is surpriz'd: your wife and babes Sauagely slaughter'd | John IV. 2.165 Arthur, whom they say is killed to night, on your suggestion | Ro III. 2.65 Is Romeo slaughtred? . . . Romeo that kil'd him, he is banished | John V. 3.9 the great supply, That was expected by the Dolphin heere, Are wrack'd three nights ago on Goodwin sands | H4A II. 4.170 thy lippes are scarce wip'd, since thou drunk'st last | ib II. 4.185 I am eight times thrust through the doublet | H4B I. 1.96 If he be slaine, say so [contrast the conditional clauses, above 2.5(4)] | Cæs V. 5.3 He came not backe: he is or tane or slaine | Goldsm V 1.84 though I am since informed swearing is now perfectly unfashionable [note *since*] | Sheridan 381 my force is strengthened | 381 one of his armour-bearers is just made prisoner | Carlyle FR 358 The seed that is sown, it will spring | ib 444 Now that his Majesty has accepted the Constitution . . . now when the Constitution is accepted | ib 476 A Political Party that knows not when it is beaten, may become one of the fatalest of things | Pissarro Rossetti 77 Death came with the 10th of April 1882, and the painter poet is buried in the little churchyard of Birchington.

8.3(4). *Is done* is still frequently used in the sense of a real perfect and thus not far removed from *has been done*; cp. *is finished* and the active sense (3.9(3)):

Sh Macb I. 7.1 If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well, It were done quickly | Bennett RS 125 those that can't rest until what has to be done is done | Hardy

R 288 he ought not to marry you . . . But it *is* done. Note Carlyle FR 357 The gods themselves cannot annihilate the action that is done. No: this, once done, is done always . . . All that has been done, All that will be done!

8.3(5). Where the agent is mentioned, *has been* is required; the expression "my career is ruined" or "I am ruined" leaves the cause unmentioned, but cf. Kennedy R 84 My career has been ruined through their mismanagement.

8.3(6). We have the passive of being in such current phrases as *he is interested in, concerned in, acquainted with, convinced of, persuaded of, pleased with, satisfied with, ashamed of, accustomed to. This is permitted (allowed, forbidden, prohibited)* by law. For some of these we have no corresponding active expressions.

Cf. also *you are mistaken* = Sh Lr IV. 6.9 Y'*are* much *deceiu'd.*

To the passive of being *he is acquainted with* corresponds the passive of becoming *he is made acquainted with.*

Preterit.

8.4(1). In the preterit, *was* is also used in two senses (1) the state = Dan. *var,* G. *war*; (2) the transition to the state = Dan. *blev,* G. *wurde*: The house was surrounded by firs and birches (1) | Here, in 1823, the Indians were surrounded by the English (2) | He was dressed in the latest fashion (1) | the children were dressed every morning by their mother (2) | at that time they were not yet married (1) | they were married last year (2) | He was forced by the officers to go with them (2), but his wife was obliged on account of her illness to remain (1, = *had to*).

8.4(2). Sometimes the context shows clearly that the first meaning (state, G. *war*) is intended:

Wordsw P 9.135 (they) Were bent upon undoing what was done [You cannot undo a thing until it has been done] | Kipling J 2.76 the door was shut fast, and three or four people were sitting with their backs to it. [But if he had written: "the door was shut, and three or four people sat down with their backs to it", the meaning would have been (2): we (they) shut the door . . .].

8.4(3). Examples of the use (2) = G. *wurde*:

Sh H4A II. 4.195 (we) bound them.—No, no, they were not bound.—You rogue, they were bound, euery man of them, or I am a iew | H5 IV. 3.94 The man that once did sell the lyons skin While the beast liu'd, was kill'd with hunting him | Shaw D 285 There wasnt a soul in the church when we were married except the pew opener and the curate | Roberts M 197 In 1896 I was myself married, and went to live in Fulham.

8.4(4). In the following passages we have examples of (1) and (2) together:

Di N 307 She was accordingly supported ('wurde') into the coach, . . . until they reached the manager's door, which was already opened ('war', note *already*) by the two Master Crummleses, who . . . were decorated ('waren') with the choicest waistcoats . . . By the combined exertions . . . Miss P. was at length supported ('wurde') in a condition of much exhaustion to the first floor | Mackenzie Rogues 95 We're married. Yes, we were married in St. Aloysius' Church this morning at twelve o'clock.

Sometimes *was* corresponds to G. *ist*, Dan. *er*, because the English prefer the preterit when a definite time in the past is implied (cf. above ch. V): *he was born in London* = er ist in L. geboren | *this photo was taken by my brother* = ist von meinem bruder genommen. Note also the relation between the two expressions "this cake *is home-made* (this is a home-made cake)" and "this cake *was made at home*"; "this cake is made at home" would imply "habitually". Cp. finally the two tenses in Ch D 116 to what conclusion *Were* membres *maad* . . . 126 they *maked been* for bothe.

8.4(5). In parallelism with the cases mentioned above 8.3(3), the earlier language frequently used *was*, where now the more precise combination *had been* would be used. In the following passages of AV, Luke 2.17

they made knowen abroad the saying, which *was told* them | 2.20 praising God for all the things that they had heard and seene, as it *was told* vnto them | 2.26 And it *was reuealed* vnto him by the holy Ghost—the 20th Cent. Translation has: what *had been said* to them | what they *had been told* | it *had been revealed.*

Perfect.

8.5(1). *Has been* with the participle may similarly have two meanings, (1) corresponding to G. *ist gewesen*, Dan. *har været*, and (2) = G. *ist geworden*, Dan. *er blevet.* Both uses are found together in a passage from Stopford Brooke, which Kruisinga (§ 144) quotes, but does not explain: The first of these books *has been lost*, but it *has* lately *been discovered* at Cambridge. (Ist verloren gewesen . . . ist entdeckt worden.)

Other examples of the first meaning: Ch D 7 Housbondes at chirche-dore I have had fyve; For I so ofte have ywedded be | Scott A 2.6 Don't be angry about the poor spaniel; she's been tied up at my brother's lodgings, and she's broke her chain twice | NP '08 Mr. M. has been twice married . . . The present Mrs. M. was Miss T., and they were married in 1865.

This use of *has been* is particularly frequent in cases of "inclusive time" (where, of course, G. has the present *ist*, but Danish the perfect *har været*):

Ch E 1233 I have ywedded be Thise monthes two | Bennett ECh 127 My will's made and has been this long time | Hankin 2.163 but then, we've only been engaged a week.

8.5(2). Examples of *has been* = G. *ist geworden*, Dan. *er blevet* are found so often that only a few quotations from old writers are required here:

Ch T 2.792 How ofte tyme hath it yknowen be, The treson, that to womman hath be do? | id Bo IV p. 1 (1147) the wrong that hath ben don to me | Marlowe T

1788 We see his tents haue now bene altered | ib 1692 belike he hath not bene watered to day | Sh Ven 97 I haue bene wooed . . . Euen by the . . . god of warre | H4B V. 4.7 There hath been a man or two lately killed about her | Ado III. 2.43 Hath any man seene him at the barbers? No, but the barbers man hath beene seen with him | Lr II. 1.103 I haue this present euening from my sister Beene well inform'd of them.

Pluperfect.

8.6(1). *Had been* in the sense G. *war gewesen*, Dan. *hade været*: Bennett O 1.17 In seventeen years she *had been engaged* eleven times . . . The drudge *had* probably *been affianced* oftener than any woman in Bursley.—Inclusive: he *had been dressed* for more than an hour [= had finished dressing more than a hour ago, and was now dressed].

8.6(2). *Had been* in the sense G. *war (wäre) geworden*, Dan. *var blevet*: Sh H6C II. 1.4 *Had he been ta'ne*, we should haue heard the newes | Fielding T 4.245 the tavern where his wound *had been drest* | Di D 138 If Peggotty *had been married* every day for the last ten years, she could hardly have been more at her ease | Wells H 74 Lady Harman *had been married* [= had married] when she was just eighteen.

Infinitive.

8.7. In the infinitive we have the same two meanings. They may not *be married* = perhaps they are not a married couple. But Wilde Imp 18 We may never be married = perhaps we shall never marry.

Sh R3 II. 1.73 A holy day shall this be kept heereafter = G. soll gehalten (gefeiert) werden. But Marlowe F 564 And to conclude, when all the world dissolues And euery creature shalbe purified, All places shall be hell that is not heauen [explained by Ward = 'shall have been purified'].

Other Auxiliaries.

8.8(1). *Get* and *become* are now increasingly common as auxiliaries for the passive of becoming; with some verbs the distinction between them and *be* is particularly useful (At that time he was not married. He got (became) married in 1920). The oldest example in NED for *get* in this employment is from 1652 *(got acquainted)*, but all the other examples are later than 1790; the oldest quotations in my own collections are from 1731 (Fielding), 1759 (Sterne) and 1766 (Goldsmith). The oldest quotation for *become* in NED is from Macaulay, who uses it pretty frequently, but seems to avoid *get*, which has (or had) a decidedly more colloquial colouring. My oldest examples for *become* are from Scott, Shelley and Miss Austen.

8.8(2). Examples with *get* or *got*:

Goldsm V 1.178 they give good advice to young nymphs and swains to get married as fast as they can | Di N 1 taking it into his head rather late in life that he must get married | Shaw 1.126 Why dont you get married? . . . Youre going to get married, arnt you? | Bennett T 35 he got married in his real name | Benson D 2.176 when they had got engaged.

Fielding 1.446 you may not only save your life, but get rewarded for your roguery | Sterne 59 he should by no means have suffered his right hand to have got engaged | Quincey 299 people get excused through me | Austen M 304 Shakespeare one gets acquainted with without knowing how | Scott A 1.102 Sir Arthur had now got involved in darkness | Di N XXIII we got acquainted directly | GE Mm 197 Will got exasperated at his presumption | Trollope W 134 lovers are sure to get kissed . . . She may get kissed | Ru S 150 my books got talked about a little | Kipling M 225 all my plans got known | Doyle M 150 before you get finished with me | Shaw 1.164 I like working and getting paid for it | Masefield M 213 The contractor practically never gets found out | Hankin 1.112

that kind of thing always gets found out (also Wells PF 117) | Kipling J 1.163 when he happens to get bitten | ib 167 those who kill snakes get killed by snakes | ib 232 the science of the thing is never to show up against the sky-line, because, if you do you may get fired at | Morris N 180 folk come and get taught things that they want to learn | Wells PF 72 We got fired into at close quarters | Kennedy R 114 the world is too large and the artist gets lost in it | Rose Macaulay K 23 We must get dressed.

8.8(3). In the following quotations we find *be* and *get* close together; in some of them the distinction between the state and transition is obvious, but in others the same auxiliary might have been used in both sentences:

GE Mm 142 There are men who don't mind about being kicked blue if they can only get talked about | ib 145 and so the bears can get taught . . . the bears will not always be taught | Mackenzie PR 285 why shouldn't he get married? Several palmists had assured him he would be married one day: most of them indeed had assured him he was married already. "If I get married . . ." | James S 66 These odds and ends had simply got thrust into a dark corner and been forgotten | Shaw 2.9 if I am caught I shall be killed. Why, I dont intend to get killed if I can help it | Wilde Im 14 Thirty five.—A very good age to be married at. I have always been of opinion that a man who desires to get married should either know everything or nothing | Tarkington F 203 I would grow up, fall in love, get engaged, and be married | Di F 760 how much gold had been taken to the Bank . . . the gold that got taken to the Bank | id T 1.6 he got shot dead himself by the other four . . . after which the mail was robbed in peace | Wells JP 588 Everything that gets done out here is done by a spurt || Schreiner Halket 89 "There have kings been born in stables," said the stranger. "It must have been a long time ago; they don't get born there now."

8.8(4). Examples with *become*:

Hankin 3.18 she became engaged to Geoffrey without your knowledge [also ib 27] | Ridge B 9 and eventually they become engaged | Hardy L 185 The two became well acquainted | Ru P 3.11 there of course we all of us became acquainted with the curé | Di D 764 I cannot say at what stage of my grief it first became associated with the reflection that . . . | Shelley 324 until thou mayst become Utterly lost | Scott Iv 94 gradually the galleries became filled with knights and nobles | McCarthy 2.513 his mind became filled with a fervour of anger | Henderson Sc Lit 9 the northern stream presently became dammed up | NP '03 Though their natures were very dissimilar, they became united by the most intimate and devoted friendship | Thompson Engl Lit 617 In 1815 Shelley became reconciled to his father | McCarthy 2.543 he became gradually drawn away from Conservatism and brought round to Nationalism | Hardy R three of his ribs had become broken in a shipwreck | Maxwell G 404 he had intended to give full instruction about them, but then his time became exhausted, and he had to go.

8.8(5). *Be* and *become* together:

Wilde Im 31 we have been engaged for the last three months . . . But how did we become engaged?

8.8(6). The use of emphatic *do* with *get* or *become* is especially noticeable, because *do* cannot be employed with *be*, and stressed *are*, etc., is not felt as quite emphatic enough.

Austen S 211 Her mind did become settled, but it was settled in a gloomy dejection | Shaw P 138 No man goes to battle to be killed.—But they do get killed. My sister's husband was killed in battle | Di T 1.44 There was no drainage to carry off the wine, and not only did it all get taken up, but so much mud got taken up along with it | Wilde Imp 13 I am engaged to Mr. Worthing, mamma.—Pardon me, you are not engaged to anyone.

When you do become engaged to anyone, I or your father will inform you of the fact.

8.8(7). When an expanded form is required it is evident that *is getting* is better than *is being*, and the infinitive *be being* must, of course, be avoided:

Steele Face of the Waters 54 The men at her end of the table had had their share of her; those others might be getting bored by her husband | Wells JP 531 I suppose Russia is bored and Germany is getting bored | Mackenzie SA 15 How old was John now? Thirty. So he was, by gad, thirty. Yes, he must be getting married.

8.8(8). *Grow* in the same function as auxiliary of the passive of becoming is comparatively rare, apart from combinations like *grow accustomed*: Kennedy R 115 he grew quite determined that William should buy Monk's Hall.

8.9(1). *Stand* as an auxiliary of the passive is particularly frequent in judicial expressions like *stand condemned*, etc., in which it probably originated through the accused persons having to stand (be on their legs) before the judges. But the verb soon got to be colourless, conveying little more than *be*, cf. also "stand in need of something" and Sh Hml III. 3.1 nor stands it safe with vs To let his madnesse range.

This use is not specified in NED (see 15 c and one example 38).

Examples in judicial expressions:

Sh Ado III. 1.108 Stand I condemn'd for pride and scorne? | Lr I. 4.5 where thou dost stand condemn'd | John III. 1.173 Thou shalt stand curst and excommunicate | ib IV. 3.51 All murthers past do stand excus'd in this | Ed3 II. 1.333 hee . . . standes excommunicat | Mi PL X 818 in mee all Posteritie stands curst | Coleridge Sh 246 we may easily stand excused | Kingsley H 183 Philammon stood rebuked | Shaw J 112 I stand rebuked | Di D 752 I stand reproved | Collins W 76 the terrible story that I now stand committed to reveal | Kinglake E 7 All coming and going stands forbidden by the terrors of the yellow flag | Galsw P 3.29 The meeting stands adjourned to five o'clock | Bennett GS 207 I stood corrected | id LR 256 The electrical debate stood adjourned.

8.9(2). *Stand possessed* [in the active sense 'possess'] is frequent; it may be classed with the preceding expressions as being also a law term: Sh R2 II. 1.162 moueables, Whereof our Vncle Gaunt did stand possesst [cf. the same phrase R3 III. 1,196, where the quartos have *stood possest* and the folio *was p.*] | R3 III. 1.196 all the moueables Whereof the King, my Brother, was [Qu. *stood*] possest | Di D 168 my standing possessed of only three-halfpence in the world.

8.9(3). Examples of *stand* with the passive pple. outside judicial expressions:

Sh Gent I. 3.60 And how stand you affected to his wish? | Austen M 329 to tell him how she stood affected in the present occasion | Quincey 218 all passages written at an earlier period stand retracted | ib 234 two thoughts stand related to each other.

8.9(4). *Rest* sometimes is approximately a mere auxiliary of the passive:

Quincey 273 if a man . . . never had his life attempted, rest assured there is nothing in him.

Cf. also *sit*, which is probably used in conscious correction of the usual *stand* in Galsw Sw 93 Michael sat corrected.

Chapter IX.

Imaginative use of Tenses.

Verbal forms which are primarily used to indicate past time are often used without that temporal import to denote unreality, impossibility, improbability or non-fulfilment. In such cases we speak of imaginative tenses or tenses of imagination. We shall now treat of these in detail.

Preterit.

9.1(1). This is found in sentences like:

I wish I had money enough to pay you.
If I had money enough, I should pay you.
You speak as if I had money enough.

In all such cases we deny the reality or possibility of certain suppositions; the implication is "I have not money enough". In the second and third examples we speak of a "rejected condition" or better "rejecting condition" or "condition contrary to fact", and in the main sentence of the second example we state what would be likely under the imagined condition that I had money enough, or what may be considered the logical or natural consequence of its truth or realization.

Originally this use was found in the preterit *subjunctive* only, and the unreality was denoted by the mood rather than by the tense. But in course of time the distinction between the forms of the subjunctive and those of the indicative came to be blotted out, and now in 99 pct. of cases it is impossible from the form to tell which of the two moods is used, thus with all strong verbs: *came*, *drank*, *held*, etc., and with all weak verbs: *ended*, *sent*, etc. The only form in which the distinction survives, is *was* (ind.) and *were* (subj.), and even here it should be noted that the plural form *were* belongs to both moods. (As for *thou wert*, *wast*, see Morphology.) It was, therefore, unavoidable that this last relic of the preterit subjunctive should also give way before the overwhelming pressure of the other forms,—the more so, as no inconvenience was ever felt by the fact that there is no corresponding difference in the other verbs—and we see a growing tendency to use *was* in the singular instead of *were* where unreality is to be indicated, though the literary language is here, as usual, more conservative than the spoken language; and school influences tend to make *were* used in writing more now perhaps than a generation or two ago. The relation between *were* and *was* will be treated separately (10.1 ff.).

9.1(2). The use of the preterit to indicate unreality may perhaps be explained psychologically in this way: the tense which is ordinarily used to express past time here simply removes the idea from the actual present and keeps the action or state denoted by the verb at some distance: the sphere of the preterit is thus extended to comprise everything not actually present: but of course this can only take place if the sentence indicates at the same time clearly that it must not be understood as referring to a real past time; this is achieved through such words as *wish* and *if*.

How natural it is to use the preterit to denote unreality may be seen from the fact that it is found not only in Gothonic and Romanic languages, but also in Greek, Armenian, and Slav (BSL 30.136).—Some languages, e. g. Arabic, have two conjunctions corresponding to our *if*, one which admits, and another which excludes the truth or possibility of the thing mentioned in the clause.

9.1(3). The meaning of time is blotted out or indistinct in the preterit of imagination, which may refer to the present time *(if I had money enough now)* or the future *(if I had money enough to-morrow)*; if some time in the past is referred to, the pluperfect is generally used, but that tense may in some cases refer to the present time, 9.7(9). The implication of unreality is similar to that found in cases like "He believed that twice two was five", which will be mentioned under the heading Indirect tense (ch. XI).

It is worth noting that the preterit indicative is used in the same way and has in the same way ousted the preterit subjunctive in modern Danish and in modern French (*si j'avais l'argent*, formerly *si j'eusse l'argent*).

Wishes.

9.2(1). Examples of the preterit in wishes (unrealizable or hardly realizable):

Sh Cor III. 1.19 I wish I had a cause to seeke him there | R3 II. 1.74 I would to God all strifes were well compounded | Meas. II. 2.67 I would to heauen I had your potencie | H4A V. 2.48 O, would thé quarrell lay vpon our heads, And that no man might draw short breath to day | Di N 619 God send that old nursery tales were true! | Frank Fairl. 2.252 Would I could doubt it! | Ru S 105 I would they were learned by all youthful ladies | Kingsley H 274 Ah, if all my priests were but like them! | Huxley L 1.197 If one had but two heads and neither required sleep! | Hardy R 355 How much he wishes he had me now, that he might give me all I desire.

9.2(2). The examples show various ways of introducing the wish. It should be noted that *I would* is really an instance of the preterit of imagination in a conditioned main sentence (cf. 9.4), but that the obsolete *God would* (as in Ch MP 3.814 God wolde I coude clepe her wers) and *would God* (Ch B 3626 Now wolde God that I myghte slepen evere! | Malory 66 so wold god I had another [hors] | ib 81 wold god she had not comen in to thys courte | Greene F 6.40 would God the lovely earl had that) contain the preterit of wish in *would* as well as in the dependent verb. See below under *would* 19.3(4).—The *if*-clause might be completed "one would be happy" or in some similar way: such incomplete conditional sentences are used in many languages to express wishes.

Note also wishes with inverted word-order:

Sh Ven 571 ô had she then gaue ouer | ib 943 Hadst thou but bid beware, then he had spoke | Lucr 379 O had they in that darkesome prison died | O, could you but see her! | Might he come in time! | Had he but known it! | Burns 1.154 O wad some Power the giftie gie us To see oursels as ithers see us!

These forms are hardly ever used in speech and do not seem to be very frequent in literature; the Sh-quotations may be conditional clauses.

Condition.

9.3(1). Not many examples are needed of the preterit of imagination in conditional clauses:

Sh As II. 4.11 I should beare no crosse if I did beare you | Hml II. 2.586 What would he doe, Had he the motiue and the cue for passion That I haue? | Scott A 2.73 Caxon sleeps in his room in case he wanted ony thing.

Cp. also Di P 151 The moment he married the widow, he would sell off all the furniture, and run away [= if he . . ., he would at once . . .].

A condition may be implied in a content-clause:

Sh H4A I. 3.232 his father . . . would be glad he met with some mischance.

Suppose or *supposing* with a content-clause equals *if*:

Wells H 237 Suppose he tried his luck! | Hope F 80 Suppose you believed all I believe | Bennett W 2.67 Supposing he turned round and saw her?

Similarly *take it*:

Thurston John Chilcote 57 Take it, for the sake of supposition, that I were to accept your offer.

An example with *granting* is printed below.

9.3(2). A condition is often implied in a relative clause:

Thack P 89 Fancy your wife attached to a mother who dropped her *h*'s, or called Maria Marire | Stevenson VP 49 one would like to marry a man who was capable of doing this, but not quite one who had done so | Kinglake E 103 a man in England, who gained his whole livelihood as a conjurer, would soon be starved to death, if he could perform no better miracles | Beresford Pris. Hartl. 125 Anything I did would only react on me | Locke D 223 Every caress I gave you would be sin | Shaw IW 7 A nation which stopped working would be dead in a fortnight | Nevinson The English 24 At the older and richer public schools learning is naturally despised, and a boy who worked hard to excel in it would lose caste almost as much as if he stole.

9.3(3). The preterit of imagination is often continued in dependent clauses, the whole context being imaginative:

Sh H4A I. 2.94 I wold thou and I knew where a commodity of good names were to be bought | Osborne 17 'tis impossible she should ever have done any thing that were unhandsome | ib 47 many times [hee] wishes mee a husband that loved mee as well as hee do's | Hazlitt Works 4.338 The way to wean him from any opinion would be to place somebody near him who was perpetually dinning it in his ears | Di D 323 It would be no pleasure to a London tradesman to sell anything which was what he pretended it was | Gissing H 166 It would not have been easy to find a house in London in which there reigned so delightful a spirit of harmony | Wells H 20 I wish that I had some work. Something—that was my own | Shaw StJ 13 If I went into England against the will of God to conquer England . . . the devil would enter into me; and when I was old I should shudder to remember the wickednesses I did | Mackenzie C 215 Why not come abroad with me . . . I couldn't. Not while my mother was alive.

Cf. also Di P 83 She might have waited till I was dead [I am not dead; she might have waited till after my death].

9.3(4). The preterit of imagination is very frequent after *as if*, *as though* (and the synonymous obsolete *as*):

Ch C 554 And thurgh thy dronke nose semeth the soun As though thou seydest ay Sampsoun, Sampsoun | Sh Mcb IV. 2.7 it resounds as if it felt with Scotland | WT V. 3.32 our caruers excellence . . . makes her As she liu'd now | Hope Q 264 As if anybody cared.

9.3(5). The preterit is sometimes found in a conditional clause, where the pluperfect might have been expected:

Goldsm 659 he spoke to me as if he knew me all his life before | Di D 211 if Dr. Watts knew mankind, he might have written.

9.3(6). In this way *could* is used instead of the missing pluperfect of *can* (= Fr. s'il avait pu):

Di Do 75 he dropped the potato and the fork—and would have dropped the knife too if he could | id F 156 as if they would have taken the liberty of staving it off if they could | Hope D 25 I would have denied it if I could.

Cp. If I could have hoped that . . . = Fr. si j'avais pu espérer que . . . See about *could* in the main sentence 9.5.

Main Sentences.

9.4(1). In the main sentence of rejecting condition (expressed or implied) *would* and *should* is now the rule (see XIX, XX), but survivals of the old use of the preterit without these auxiliaries are still occasionally to be found, in Sh and perhaps later:

Merch II. 1.20 If my father had not scanted me, And hedg'd me . . . Your selfe (renowned Prince) than stood as faire as any commer . . . For my affection; cf. Cæs II. 1.136 do not staine The euen vertue of our enterprise . . . To thinke, that or our cause, or our performance Did neede an oath.

9.4(2). The preterit of imagination is also found in main clauses in the phrases *had as lief, had liever, had as good* (all obs.), *had better, had best*:

Caxton R 46 I had leuer hange yow than I shold so moche praye you for it | Marlowe E 1510 Th'ad [thee had] best betimes forsake them and their trains | Sh H8 V. 3.132 By all that's holy, he had better starue | Mi SA 1061 But had we best retire? | Bunyan P 79 to muse what he had best to do | Defoe Rox 230 I had as lieu he had been dead | Fielding T 2.181 I had rather have the soldiers than the officers | Goldsm V 2.42 he'd as lief eat that glass | ib 2.219 I think we had as good go back again | Brontë W 246 so he had as good leave his guns alone | Ru S 1.405 what he had best do under those circumstances | Benson D 2.173 had father better be allowed to sleep on | Walpole DW 314 he decided that it must be Breton whom he had best approach.

On the perfect infinitive after *had better*, etc., see 10.8(3).

Some rarer combinations are seen in

Worth S 189 the tale got out somehow and I had as well set it down here | Steele Face of the Waters 87 she had wiser stay where she hath chosen to live | Herrick M 41 there's no man I had as soon have beside me.

9.4(3). An analogous phrase is *had rather*:

More U 259 they had rather take them aliue | Marlowe J 147 Rather had I a Jew be hated thus, Than pittied | Lyly C 313 I had rather be in thy shop grinding colours than in Alexanders court following higher fortunes | Sh Cor II. 2.73 I had rather haue my wounds to heale againe Then heare say how I got them | Bunyan P 118 he had rather leave your company | Sheridan 274 he had rather be abused than not mentioned at all | Austen S 10 One had rather do too much than too little | Thack N 828 I had rather drink his honest malt and hops than his abominable sherry | Ru C 160 I had infinitely rather hear of thoughtless old age | Gissing B 364 you had rather not have him here | Shaw J 282 I had rather be a thief.

I have given so many examples, because some people (see, for instance, a letter from Robert Browning in Mrs. Orr's Handb. 14) think *had rather* incorrect, probably because they imagine it to be a wrong expansion of *I'd rather*, which they think short for *I would rather*. A curious consequence of the idea that *would rather* is the better form, is seen in Doyle S 1.228 Or should you rather that I sent James off to bed?

Cf. also Van der Gaff, ESt 45. 381 ff. "The Origin of Would rather and some of its analogues", and see below 19.9.

9.4(4). *Had like* generally has the perfect infinitive (see 10.8(4)), but the present infinitive in Swift J 192 but I had like to be drawn into a difficulty.

9.5(1). *Could* is often used in main sentences of rejecting condition, because it is not possible to use *should can*, as *can* has no infinitive (and *should be able* emphasizes the physical or mental ability or capability more than *could* does):

Sh Ado II. 1.31 Lord, I could not endure a husband with a beard on his face | Austen P 68 you must not attempt to have her portrait taken, for what painter could do justice to these beautiful eyes? | ib 152 though I should be exceedingly grieved, I could not hesitate | Di D 121 if the funeral had been yesterday, I could not recollect it better [= could not have recollected; properly: should not have been able to . . .] | McCarthy 2.111 Do you think you could command an army? | Hardy R 188 I had an early breakfast. Now I could eat a little more.

When no conditional clause is found, this *could* of imagination is often hardly more than a weaker or vaguer (diffident) present tense *can*:

Stevenson V 109 you could not be put in prison for speaking against industry, but you can be sent to Coventry for speaking like a fool | Dreiser F 58 There must be something I can do . . . No, there isn't anything you could do | You won't be angry, will you?—How could I?

In questions, the use of *could* as the preterit of unreality often serves to make a request more modest:

Could you tell me the right time? | Di M 213 Could I speak a word with you, sir, if you please? It's rather pressing.

9.5(2). *Could* may be used in this way where logically the pluperfect might have been expected (but *had could* does not exist):

Di F 443 She yielded to the entreaty—how could she do otherwise (= how could she have done otherwise, G. wie hätte sie anders handeln können?). Cf. 9.3(6).

9.5(3). *Might* is similarly frequent in main sentences of imagination with reference to the present time:

You might do me a great favour (if you would . . .) | Are you going already? You might stay a little longer.

In questions we have the diffident *might* of imagination: "What might your name be?" is somewhat archaic, perhaps most used by uneducated speakers, and is only a circuitous way of asking: "What is your name?" Cf. Di F 394 Might you be looking for a Boarding-House? . . . Might that have been long ago?

In the same way the vulgar or archaic *mought* in Stevenson T 2 [you ask:] What you mought call me? You mought call me captain.

9.5(4). *Dared* is somewhat rare or archaic as a preterit of imagination:

Scott A 2.137 no man but my mother's brother dared to have used such language in my presence [= would dare, would have dared]. As in the ordinary preterit the final *d* is often dropped, see above 1.8.

The old form *durst* is also found in the meaning 'would dare' with reference to the present time.

Ch B 4108 How dorste ye seyn for shame unto your love, That any thing mighte make you aferd? | Sh Oth IV. 2.12 I durst (my Lord), to wager she is honest, Lay downe my soule at stake.

9.5(5). The same development from a preterit of imagination to what is now virtually a present tense is seen in *should* as an expression of what is now advisable (see 20.2) and in *ought to* as a stronger expression for the related idea of "duty, rightness, shortcoming, advisability, or strong probability" (COD). *Ought* is OE *āhte*, pret. of *āh* 'owe, possess' and thus originally means 'had to, should have to'. Now it refers to the present time:

Sh Lr V. 323 The waight of this sad time we must obey, Speake what we feele, not what we ought to say | We ought to be dressing for dinner.

Thus also when it expresses a strong presumption:

He has been here for years, so he ought to speak English perfectly | Oppenheim Laxw 275 He ought to be able to tell us.

9.5(6). In speaking of the past one must either say "it was your duty to do that" or else use *ought to* with the perfect infinitive, which implies that the duty was not fulfilled:

You ought to have done that | this ought to have been set right long ago. A conditioned (imaginative) duty must be expressed in this way: if you were younger it would be your duty to enroll.

The feeling that *ought* is a preterit is not extinct, as shown by the vulgar: you didn't ought to say that | we ought to go, hadn't we?—Cf. *had ought* 9.8(3).

9.5(7). On imaginative *would* with retained or weakened meaning of volition see ch. XIX.

9.5(8). *Must* as a preterit of imagination is treated somewhat cavalierly in the NED, where it is mentioned (as "Past subj.") under 2b with two quotations from Chaucer only; instances like the following have thus been overlooked:

in a main sentence

Di F 830 Why, I must go distracted for life, if I turned jealous of every one who used to find my wife beautiful | Kingsley H VII They brought . . . new questions which must be solved unless the Church was to relinquish for ever her claims | Cambridge Trifles 35 if I wanted my true friend, I must get him in the rough and manipulate him into shape for myself | If he knew her real nature, he must hate her. (But where obligation is to be expressed, we must say: If all this were true, he *would have* to resign his office.)

after *as though, as if*:

Marlowe E 1337 As though your highnes were a schoole boy still, And must be awde and gouernd like a child | Rose Macaulay T 232 it was as if her heart must break in her.

Further with a perfect infinitive: this is fully recognized in NED no. 5 ("past conditional") with quotations from 1460 to 1896; cf. also:

Defoe R 52 had it [the wave] returned again immediately, I must have been strangled in the water | Macaulay H 1.137 there was nothing which Cromwell had so much reason to desire as a general religious war in Europe. In such a war he must have been the captain of the Protestant armies [= if there had been such a war, he would necessarily have been . . .] | Collins W 33 I must have been hard to please, indeed, if I had not approved of the room | Di P 185 there was such a joyous sound in her merry laugh, that the sternest misanthrope must have smiled to hear it | ib 198 if the piece had been loaded, he must inevitably have shot himself dead upon the spot | Stevenson T 192 Had it been otherwise, I must long ago have perished | ib 263 From time to time, indeed, I had to lend him a hand, or he must have missed his footing and fallen backward down the hill.

Cf. *ought to have*, 9.5(6).

It is time he left.

9.6. After *it is (high) time* it is usual to use the preterit. Originally this was in the subjunctive because it was looked upon as hypothetical (1), but as in the majority of instances there was no formal difference between the subjunctive and the indicative (2), and as the hypothetical element was not so clearly before the mind as in conditional sentences, the indicative came to be used (3). Thus the preterit has come to indicate a future time.

9.6(1). Sh Err III. 2.162 'tis hie time that I were hence | ib IV. 2.52 'tis time that I were gone | Cowper L 2.185 it is time she were gone to Bucklands | Lamb E 2.V it is time he were gone | Stevenson M 281 It is high time that the omission were supplied.

Cf. also Gammer 150 make hast Diccon were here; fetch him where-euer he bee!

9.6(2). Sh Ant I. 4.73 'tis time we twaine Did shew our selues i' th' field | R3 V. 5.96 If thou loue me, 'tis time thou wer't away | BJo 3.165 'tis time we prevented it | Rehearsal 113 'tis time that we were gone | Di Do 274 it's high time that we were off! | GE M 1.3 it is time that little play-fellow went in | Kipl L 31 'Faith, it's time it came | Merriman S 175 it is about time that you took the ladies away from here.

9.6(3). Di Sk 98 it's high time something was done with these steam companies | id N 5 it's time he was in the way of doing something for himself | Kipl J 2.138 it's time he was put an end to | Marshall Sorry Scheme 19 Isn't it about time he was going to school?

9.6(4). It is rare here to find the present tense, as in Ch T 4.517 tyme is that I sterve | Thack N 581 it is time that I return home; but *should* is pretty frequent: Sh Tp I. 2.23 'Tis time I should informe thee farther | Dryden 5.402 'tis time the world should have a lord | Scott Iv 222 it is time thou shouldst leave us | Archer Am 179 it is high time we should disabuse ourselves.

9.6(5). Sometimes even the main verb is put in the preterit subjunctive: Scott Iv 174 it were time we left our wine flagons.

9.6(6). We find the preterit similarly used after expressions akin to 'it is time': Sh Cy I. 5.17 is't not *meete* That I did amplifie my iudgement in Other conclusions? | ib II. 1.46 Is it *fit* I went to looke vpon him? | Err IV. 4.153 I *long* that we were safe and sound aboard | [Galsw P 3.34 I think *I'd rather see* these papers were disposed of before I get my lunch.].

Pluperfect.

9.7(1). Next we have to consider the imaginative use of the pluperfect, which in the first place refers to some event in the past, which is represented as not having taken place:

I wish he had not married her (implying that he has done so).

If he had not married her, he would have been happier.

You talk as if you had really been there (but you have not).

9.7(2). Examples of unrealized wishes with regard to some time in the past:

Towneley 119 I wald I had ryn to [= run till] I had lost hir | Sh H6A V. 4.31 I wish some rauenous wolf had eaten thee! | As III. 3.23 Do you wish then that the Gods had made me poeticall? | Ant II. 3.10 Would I had neuer come from thence | Sterne 11 I wish I had been born in the moon | Hardy R 138 O that I had seen his face! | ib 172 O that she had been married to Damon before this! . . . If I had only known!

9.7(3). The same pluperfect is also used after a verb indicating past time, as further shifting is not possible:

Sh Oth I. 3.162 She wish'd she had not heard it [corresponding to: I wish I had not heard it] | Hardy R 394 she wished it had been night instead of morning.

9.7(4). Note the pluperfect after the old *liever*:

Ch A 3541 Him had be lever . . . That she hadde had a ship hirself allone (cf. ib 3751) | Fulg 47 I had lever she had etyn my knife.

9.7(5). Examples of this pluperfect after *if*:

If it hadn't been for Jack, I should have died there and then | Hope Z 293 if love had been the only thing, you would have let the king die in his cell.

9.7(6). The same in a relative clause implying a not realized condition:

Trollope A 107 Looking at me as he might have done at a highway robber who had stopped him on Hounslow Heath, he said that he . . . | Hardy R 474

Anybody who had passed through Blooms-End would have found that . . . | Gissing H 126 any ordinary person who had ventured upon such an insult would have been overwhelmed with clamorous retort.

The pluperfect of *am to* is comparatively rare: Defoe Rox 16 The last indeed had been the best if it had been to be done | ib 39 had he not been to lie with me the same night, I believe he would have played the fool with Amy | Austen P 154 she would have felt almost sure of success if he had not been to leave H so very soon.

9.7(7). Examples after *as if* and synonymous conjunctions:

Sh R3 IV. 4.221 You speake as if that I had slaine my cosins | Shr II. 1.159 With twentie such vilde tearmes, As had she studied to misuse me so | Di P 8 he flung himself into a chair with as much ease as if nothing uncommon had occurred.

9.7(8). In the same way as we saw in 9.3(3) the simple preterit used in a relative clause simply because it followed a preterit of imagination, we have the pluperfect *had done* = the perfect 'have done' in the following: Mackenzie SA 33 you seem sad sometimes, as if you half regretted what you had done.

Cp. also the use of *had been* = 'was' in Defoe M 73 he was too honest a man to have continued my husband after he had known I had been his sister.

9.7(9). Sometimes the pluperfect of imagination refers not to any time in the past, but really to the present time: it is as if the imaginative element inherent in the preterit had been raised to the second power to emphasize the impossibility or improbability. Thus we may say "If I had had the money [at the present moment] I should have paid you", where the negative element is stronger than "If I had the money, I should pay you", and in the same way "I wish I had been rich enough to give you the money".

9.8(1). In a main sentence the pluperfect of imagination was formerly as frequent as it now is rare:

Malory 712 had not my sone ben here afore me I had sene moche more | Marlowe J 1074 but for me . . . You had been stab'd | Sh H4A V. 3.14 hadst thou fought at Holmedon thus, I neuer had triumphed o're a Scot | H4B I. 2.94 I had lyed in my throat, if I had said so | AV John 11.21 if thou hadst bene here, my brother had not died | Bunyan P 76 had we gone a little further, we had not been here to bring the news to thee | Otway 235 Had Jaffeir's wife prov'd kind, he had still been true | ib 166 Childless you had been else | Osborne 35 if you had given larger instructions you had bin better obayed | Gay BP 197 Had you conceal'd your sex, I had been happy | Fielding 5.491 without your assistance I had not only been robbed, but very probably murdered | Cowper L 2.7 Had Pope's translation been good, . . . I had never translated myself one line of Homer | Shelley Jul. 217 laughter where complaint had merrier been | By 639 Had Adam not Fallen, all had stood | Scott Iv 253 thou art no outlaw; no outlaw had refused such offers | Tenn 100 I had been content to perish, falling on the freeman's ground | Thack N 838 If my Mack was here, you never had dared to have done this | id P 339 Had he been permitted to speak then, he had spoken, and she, perhaps, had listened, differently | Bennett O 1.66 otherwise Sophia had been found guilty of a great breach of duty | Haggard S 195 another moment, and he had been gone! | Galsw Sw 238 One little act, and nothing could have kept him from her . . . and then there had been no vows of hers or his | Bridges Test. of Beauty 61 I had disliked Brasidas if he had kill'd the mouse.

9.8(2). But this use of *had* may in some cases lead to ambiguity, as is seen in the second sentence of the following quotation, where Defoe is obliged to say *should have*: Defoe R 165 had the least cloud interven'd, I had been undone another way too; for I had no compass on board, and should never have known how to have steer'd.

Therefore—and in accordance with the general tendency to use *shall*, *will*, *should* and *would* more frequently than formerly—it has become increasingly usual in the main clause to say *should have* and *would have* in these cases instead of *had*, see examples ch. XIX and XX.

9.8(3). In vulgar English (chiefly in U. S.) the pluperfect *had (not) ought to* is often used instead of *ought (not) to*; in most, but not in all, cases it refers to an unfulfilled duty in the past, even if the perfect infinitive (cf. 10.6) is not used. Examples:

Stevenson T 244 You had ought to tell me that | Bennett C 1.299 His friends hadn't ought to let him out like this | id A 132 th'house hadn't ought to be left | Churchill C 200 he said somethin' he hadn't ought to | ib 230 wimmen folks hadn't ought to mix up in politics | Ade |A 6 Any man that wears that kind of a necktie hadn't ought to handle money | Lewis B 293 We've all done a bunch of things that we hadn't ought to | id MS 114 Maybe I hadn't ought to talk | id MA 35 I don't think a fellow that can't get through an examination had hardly ought to be allowed to practice medicine | ib 183 he hadn't ought to go getting drunk (frequent in Sinclair Lewis) || Written so that it might look as *would*: Masefield Lost Endeav. 129 You'd ought to see Toro.

That this use of *had* is not considered correct, is seen in Norris P 241 "I hadn't ought to think anything." "Say shouldn't think."

In questions the use of the pluperfect may be due to the feeling of awkwardness in saying either "oughtn't I" or the unrecognized "didn't I ought": Mason R 46 Hadn't I ought to see one of the partners? | cf. Hergesheimer MB 35 Had you ought to have got them? See also Krapp CG 288: often: I oughtn't to have done that, had I?

Two rarer (and seemingly not quite natural) variants are seen in Norris O 364 They ain't ought to have done that | Masefield W 84 They'd oughtn't hang a boy | id E 63 You'd oughtn't beat your little son.

Chapter X.

Imaginative Tenses Continued.

Was and *Were.*

Wishes.

10.1(1). I have quotations for the old *were* (in the singular) in *wishes* from Shakespeare (Ado IV. 1.305 O that I were a man! etc., etc.), Defoe, Swift, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Marryat, Thackeray, George Eliot, Smedley, Hall Caine, Merriman, Swinburne, Philips and other writers.

On the other hand I have quotations for *was* in wishes from Defoe (G 49 I wish he was present to hear you, G 51, 204), Swift, Fielding (4.382 I wish it was within five miles), Sheridan (193 I wish it was spring all the year round), Miss Austen, Byron (L 128 I wish it was well over), Marryat, Thackeray, Dickens (N 538 I wish I was a parrot), Ch. Brontë, GE, Trollope, Hardy (R 107 I wish I was there now, F 53, 108, etc.), Meredith, Stevenson, Jerome, Swinburne, Vachell, Hope, Zangwill, Wells, Leslie Stephen, Bennett (W 2.250 I wish I was half as good-looking), Miss Harraden, Wilde, Mrs Ward, A. C. Benson, Norris.

Some authors use now one, now the other form, they may even be found in the same passage as in

Swift P 149 I wish it [the wine] were in your guts . . . she wish'd it was in your guts | Marryat P. Keene: The captain says he wishes I were black; I wish I was | Thack N 631 I wish the colonel were at Calcutta and his son with him. I wish he was in the Ganges. I wish he was under Juggernaut's car.

10.1(2). Not infrequently *was* is shown by the context to be more emphatic than *were*; cf. for instance the passage just quoted from Marryat; also Benson W 46 I wish very much that there was a really good literary paper. Note the emphatic negative in Hardy F 108 I wish it wasn't Sunday (cf. also Jerome T 136; written *was not* in Austen M 258, Di D 301, etc.), cf. below 10.2(6), 10.4(2).

Condition.

10.2(1). Examples of *were* in *conditional clauses* are found so abundantly that it is hardly necessary to give any; I shall, however, print just a few, chiefly from authors who elsewhere use *was* after *if*:

Sh H4A I. 2.228 If all the yeare were playing holidaies, To sport would be as tedious as to worke | Defoe G 53 if I were hang'd you would be a gentleman | Sheridan 86 if your uncle were here, I should have a friend | Di D 492 if there were a happy man in the world, that night, it was the grateful Creech | Doyle S 3.88 I would not have a secret from you if it were not for your own sake.

Cf. after substitutes for *if*: Di N 697 Suppose she should be murdered . . . "Suppose she were," said Ralph hoarsely | Kipl L 102 suppose I were to come to you . . . what would you do? | Dickinson S 114 Granting, then, that there were order in the universe, how does that make it any better?

10.2(2). In colloquial English, *were* in the singular hardly survives except in the fixed formula "If I were you" (e. g. GE Mm 233, Wells V 35, Hope D 29, Caine C 351); but even here "if I was you" is sometimes found (though blamed by grammarians), e. g. Di T 1.230 I think I wouldn't if I was you | Ridge S 36 | Norris O 121. According to Mencken Am. L. 3rd ed. 295 one never hears in U. S. "if I were you", but always "if I was you".

Cf. also *if he were to* 10.3(3), and *as it were* 10.4(8).

10.2(3). *Was* instead of the older *were* in conditional clauses begins to appear in the 17th century (see C. Alphonso Smith, *Modern Philology* 5.361; his oldest quotations, apart from a ballad MS of uncertain date, are from Pepys and Bunyan). In my own collections I have quotations for *was* from Marlowe, the Spectator, Swift, Defoe (pretty often), Fielding, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Cowper, Miss Austen, Hazlitt, Kingsley, Ch. Brontë, Dickens, Browning, Trollope, Swinburne, Wilde (often), Pett Ridge, Wells, Conan Doyle, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Bernard Shaw, Bennett, S. Butler, Norris and other recent writers.

A few only of these quotations can be given here:

Marlowe H 2.53 Supposing nothing else was to be done | Spect 179 Sir Roger told me that the country people would be tossing her into a pond . . ., if it was not for him and his chaplain | Defoe R2 70 if one part was destroy'd the other might be sav'd | Fielding 8.641 a murder behind the scenes will affect the audience with greater terror than if it was acted before their eyes | Goldsm 256 if the useful knowledge of every country was gleaned by a judicious observer, the advantages would be inestimable | Sheridan 309 if there was not a greater spirit shown on the part of the people, the country would fall a sacrifice . . . | Austen M 90 I should not wonder if he was not more than five foot eight | Brontë J 201 If I had time, and was not in a mortal dread of a servant passing, I would know what all this means | Di T 1.33 don't heed me any more than if I was a speaking machine | Wilde W 30 it would be a good thing if I was able to tell him.

Cf. also with the old *you was* (see II. 2.89): Fielding T 4.220 if you was acquainted with the story, you would allow my case admitted of no comfort.

10.2(4). Where there is no conjunction, and the condition is expressed by the word-order of a question, *were*, and not *was*, is the rule:

Sh John I. 1.269 Now by this light were I to get againe, Madam, I would not wish a better father | H4A II. 2.116 wer't not for laughing, I should pitty him | Trollope W 75 I could never respect my self again, were I to give way now | Wilde P 29 were there not a single house open to me in pity I would be able to face the life | Times 12/6 '03 Mr. Balfour . . . asserted that it would be a great dereliction of duty on his part were he to make a statement of the kind at the present time.

But even here *was* is sometimes found:

Fielding 1.225 Where are you going? Any where but to hear you damn'd, which I must, was I to go to your puppet-show | Carlyle F 3.136 Indeed, was it not for her, I might easily cut and run; which at bottom were perhaps not good for me | Wells U 350 It would be so easy to bring about a world peace within a few decades, was there but the will for it among men!

10.2(5). Examples of *was* and *were* used almost in the same breath (in those after || it seems as if the distance from *if* had some importance, the writer being, as it were, only on his best behaviour when *if* is fresh in his memory):

Sheridan 350 I would not care if he was hanged, so I were but once married to him | Gibbon M 179 if Virgil was not initiated he could not, if he were, he would not, reveal the secrets | Kipl J 1.240 if I was like him I could pull the guns. But if I were as wise as all that I should never be here | Ru P 1.248 Generally, if there was time, I used to climb the islet of crag . . . If there were not time to reach the castle rock, at least I could get into the woods || Mrs. Carlyle F 3.23 There is a Mrs. X. whom I could really love, if it were safe and she was willing | Stevenson M 128 if I were dying of thirst, and it was your hand that put the pitcher to my lips, I should refuse | Roberts M 159 he was capable of walking great distances if he were put to it and was in condition | Hope I 272 if there were a man and woman such as we've been speaking of, and there was half the shadow of a chance, oughtn't they to clutch at it.

10.2(6). As above (10.1(2)), *was* is often felt to be more emphatic than *were* and is used for the sake of emphasis even by such a writer as Macaulay, who generally avoids *if . . . was*:

H 7.139 It was not impossible that there might be a counterrevolution, and it was certain that, if there was a counterrevolution, those who had lent money to William would lose both interest and principal | Wilde Im 32 if my name *was* [Italics in the text] Algy, couldn't you love me? | Macdonald F 258 If it *was* [Italics in the text] the case, he said, that the governor had lost that confidence the fact was due solely to Franklin | Norris O 557 I wonder if this is true. Well, and even if it was, we should be the last ones to kick.

10.2(7). This I take to be the reason for the comparative frequency of the negative form *wasn't* in clauses of unreal condition, e. g.

Wilde Im 8 If it wasn't for Bunbury's bad health, I wouldn't be able to dine with you | Doyle S 5.87 If it wasn't for this gentleman here, I am not sure that you would not have succeeded | Shaw 2.113 I'd talk to you pretty straight if Mr. Marchbanks wasn't here.

10.3(1). In the case of the purely imaginative preterit the reference to time is vague or indistinct, as already remarked. If, on the other hand, a definite past time is referred to, *was*, and not *were*, is the rule in a clause of condition; here the speaker does not deny the truth or possibility of the condition:

Sh Hml II. 2.455 it was neuer acted; or if it was, not aboue once | As III. 2.41 Why, if thou neuer was't at Court, thou neuer saw'st good maners | Mi PR 4.519 The Son of God I also am, or was, And if I was, I am | Goldsm 32 if the gooseberry wine was well knit, the gooseberries were of her gathering [= whenever] | Austen S 280 if ever there was a happy couple in the world, I think I shall soon know where to look for it | Macaulay H 1.209 If there was any form of government which he liked, it was that of France. If there was any Church for which he felt a preference, it was that of Rome | Di T 1.56 he would be frightened if his door was left open [= was frightened, whenever] | ib 2.15 If it was a light answer, I beg your forgiveness | Browning 1.526 If really there was such a chance (N.B. really) | Stevenson MB 79 he grew petulantly alive to criticism, unless he was sure it reached him from a friend | Curle L 14 It was H., a hateful person if ever there was one | Dreiser F 156 She could see also now how little it meant to her, how little it could ever mean, even if to him it was heaven | NP '25 If Gladstone was not a conservative, what was he?

10.3(2). Sometimes *if*, followed by *was*, does not really mean a condition: "If the offer was rejected, it was because people distrusted him" is a rhetorical device of expressing the reason why the offer was rejected. Thus also in Stevenson MB 272 if he was yesternight in Sir Daniel's mansion, it was I that brought him there.—

An *if*-clause may also serve merely to point a contrast:

Defoe R 159 if I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse tayler [= I really was bad as a carpenter and worse as a tailor] | id G 38 if it was not below an Emperor thus to furnish his soul with knowledge, how can it be below a private gentleman? | Thack P 248 If her mouth was rather large . . ., everybody allowed that her smile was charming | Hewlett Q 482 if his was a sorry case, what was hers? | Shaw StJ 7 If Socrates was as innocent as this at the age of seventy, it may be imagined how innocent Joan was at the age of seventeen.

Were is here exceptional, as in Stevenson MB 48 If he were great as principal, he was unrivalled as confidant.

10.3(3). A distinction is often made between *if he was to* (with an infinitive) and *if he were to.* The former (often with stress on *was*) retains the meaning of obligation or arrangement that is found in "he is to return at six" and generally, though not always, refers to the past time. Examples:

Defoe G 55 if it was to be enquir'd into, it would appear that . . . | Fielding T 1:47 If I was to translate this into Latin, I should render it by these two words, nolo episcopari | Cowper L 1.4 if I was to open my heart to you, I could show you strange sights | Macaulay H 5.191 There would be an end of all liberty of speech at the bar, if an advocate was to be punished for making a strictly regular application to a Court | ib 6.101 There was an end of privilege, if an Earl was to be doomed to death by tarpaulins | Shaw J 107 If I was to be shot for it I couldnt.

In former times, *were* might be used in such clauses with the implication of obligation (where now we should rather say *had to*): Sh H4A I. 2.119 O, if men were to be saued by merit, what hole in Hell were hot enough for him? | Swift P 105 if I were to chuse a husband, I would never be married to a little man.

Note that there is here no reference to a past time.

If he were to call, on the other hand, has lost all reference to the past as well as to obligation and has come to be a mere variant of "if he should call", indicating a vague possibility in the future. Examples:

Sheridan 75 if I were to die, she will find I have not been inattentive to her interest | Di P 243 I should never guess, if I were to try all night | Swinb L 156 Oh, if I were to die, I should never forget that | ib 233 Only if I were to write for ever, I should never get to express a thing about her | Hardy R 370 It would be better for me if I die . . . It would be better for you, if I were to die | Galsw Sw 233 If she were to be out, I shouldn't mind having a look round her studio.

Note here also the old *you was*:

Fielding 1.212 if you was to stay in my house this quarter of a year, as I hope you will, I shou'd not ask you for a farthing.

Stevenson JHF 75, makes a servant say *was to*, where in ordinary language we should expect *were to*: see here, sir, if by any chance he was to ask you in, don't go.—Thus also possibly in Sterne 40 if I was to think this month together, I am sure I should not be able to find it out . . . if a man was to sit down coolly, and consider . . . | Di M 204 I shouldn't wonder if he was to talk some precious nonsense.

10.3(4). In a relative clause implying a rejected condition, *were* would probably never be used:

Shaw IW 267 A bank manager whose judgement was bad would very soon get his bank into difficulties . . . But a manager who was too cautious to lend any money at all would be still more disastrous.

10.4(1). After *as if* and *as though* we see the same vacillation as after the simple *if* between the old subjunctive *were* and the more modern *was*; thus even in the same breath:

Ru P 2.131 it seemed as if the mountain stream was in mere bliss . . . There were pieces of wave that danced as if Perdita were looking on to learn . . . as if it were set in a brooch | Swinb L 223 I feel as if there was nothing nice to think of in the world, and as if it were easier to begin crying than thinking | Shaw I 104 He'd see through me as if I was a pane of glass | ib 105 (same person) You talk as if I were under an obligation to him | Hewlett Q 227 she spoke as if she were talking to her people. He looked after her owlishly, blinking as if he was about to cry | Norris P 283 Sometimes it's as though there was a heavy iron cap on my head, and sometimes . . . it seems as if there were fog inside | Bennett C 2.51 He had to behave as though his father was the kindest of fathers, as though Hilda wrote every day, as though he were not even engaged to Hilda | Priestley G 192 this she did . . . with a certain melancholy, as if life were all over for her and she was only shouting a few last messages to the fading shore.

A few recent examples of the subjunctive will suffice here:

Shaw P 205 This does not seem as if the change since Job's time were Progress | Wilde D 17 men treat art as if it were meant to be a form of autobiography | Swinb L 225 I feel as if I were running down.

10.4(2). In the following quotations we see that *was* is better adapted for emphatic use than *were* (cf. above 10.1(2), 10.2(6)):

Poe 265 being unaware that the letter is not in his possession, he will proceed with his exactions as if it was | Shaw J 203 theres nothing to be proud of.—Well, try and look as if there was | Wells F 199 as if indeed she [New York] was the light of the world | Parker R 28 as though, indeed, there was in his mind some secret pity for her.

Emphatic *were* is rare: Wells U 270 as if it *were* that [italics in the text].

10.4(3). Therefore (cf. 10.2(7)) *wasn't* is more frequent than *weren't*: Norris P 49 as though I were all that . . . as if I wasn't old enough | Wells V 33 you are going to treat me as though I wasn't | Ward F 253 As if there wasn't enough for all of us!

10.4(4). *Was* is used after *as if (as though)* in the following examples in speaking of the present time:

Defoe G 79 if he suck't a sow he will be of the hog kind as certainly as if he was one of the litter | id R 2.218 let no wise man flatter himself, as if he was able to chuse . . . | Goldsm 631 he looks as if he was broke loose from Bedlam | Sheridan 292 We'll go to't, as if it was the first night's performance | Austen S 121 The children are all hanging about her already as if she was an old acquaintance | Carlyle F 3.184 I feel as if my continued life and misery was for no purpose [but 195 I feel . . . as if I were a dumb man] | Kingsley H 307 She looks as if she was going to be crucified | Thack P 252 you have been treating me just as if I was a charity girl | Ru S 194 we talk of taking up our cross, as if the only harm in a cross was the weight of it—as if it was only a thing to be carried, instead of to be—crucified upon | Wilde D 5 he looks as if he was made of ivory | Stevenson M 128 it is as if the gallows itself was striding towards you | Shaw D 267 he talks as if the only thing of any importance was which particular woman he shall marry | Hope In 144 You needn't talk as if I was a pauper | Hewlett Q 61 you storm in my house as if it was your own | Bennett W 2.236 I feel as if my leg was going to burst | Wells T 27 you will behave as though I was not a man of honour.

10.4(5). The tendency to use *was* after *as if* is certainly strongest if the time spoken of belongs to the past: "she spoke as if she was ashamed" (not *were*), but "she speaks as if she were ashamed" (or *was*). See the following quotations:

Bunyan G 49 Me-thought the Judge stood at the door, I was as if it [Death] was come already | Defoe R 34 he plung'd up and down as if he was struggling for life [thus also ib 109, 137; 46 as if we was bound, cf. II. 2.89] | Swift J 288 [she sat] as if she was cut off in the middle | Richardson G 1.55 the student looked as if he was putting his fine speeches into Latin [ib 1.99] | Trollope B 312 they sat down as though nothing was amiss in the world | Macaulay B 20 [Frederic] would, he said, stand by her . . .; as if he was not already bound to stand by her [emphatic] | Di D 60 it looked in that state as if nothing was more unlikely than its ever going to London [ib 358] | Browning 1.411 A wondrous portal opened wide, As if a cavern was suddenly hollowed | Ru P 1.347 the papers close abruptly, as if their business was at its natural end | McCarthy 2.198 there was a kind of impatient feeling as if it was unfair to us that our cotton trade should be interrupted | Kipl M 195 it sounded as though something was being dragged | Hardy F 49 It seemed as if the spot was unoccupied by a living soul | Lang T 167 a personal feeling, as if Browning was Tennyson's rival, affected the judgment | Wilde L 112 she felt as if she was in a terrible dream | Hope In 296 the things she said were nothing to the things she looked as if she was going to say | Hewlett Q 75 in low urgent tones, which cried sometimes as if she was hurt | Wells V 35 he regarded her as though this was a new idea | Norris P 268 she wept as though her heart was breaking | Zangwill G 248 she would turn red, as if the fault was hers | Bennett C 1.107 It was as if he was spiritually alone [frequent in Wilde, Bennett, Wells].

Was may, of course, refer to the past, even if the verb of the main sentence is in the present tense:

Di D 184 And then, as if this was not enough, she marries a second time | McCarthy 2.33 it does not appear as if any alarm was expressed.

10.4(6). *Were* may, however, still be found in accordance with the old idiom, after *as if* in speaking of the past:

Kingsley H 90 even if the whole matter was not settled by some chamberlain sent from court, as if he were an anointed vessel | Norris P 347 I loved him just as if he were my father | Bennett A 92 his eyes blinked at the glare, as though he were trembling before the anticipated decree | Hewlett A 246 she began to wail as if she were keening her dead.

10.4(7). Among other writers who occasionally use *was* after *as if* or *as though*, may be mentioned Fielding, Hazlitt, Trelawney (R 124, 132), Herbert Spencer, Hawthorne, Merriman, Hall Caine, Gilbert Parker, Vachell, Phillpotts, Sinclair, Henry James, Hugh Walker.

10.4(8). In the set phrase *as it were* (e. g. More U 139, Sh Merch I. 1.10) there is no tendency to substitute *was* for *were*. *As* here means the same thing as *as if*, cf. Sh Lr II. 2.88 Smile you my speeches, as I were a foole?

10.4(9). The encroachment of the indicative on the old domain of the subjunctive is not, of course, an isolated phenomenon; cf. *if he is* for *if he be*, *though he is (was)* for *though he be (were)*, etc.

The influence of schools in 'correcting' *was* is felt in Jerome T 73 You needn't talk about her as if she was a monster—I mean were, corrected herself Miss F. | Ridge L 167 her memory was afflicted by the thought that on this last visit she had said 'If I was' instead of 'If I were'.

Main Sentences.

10.5(1). In main sentences imaginative *were* is pretty frequently used even in our own days, especially in high-flown style; in ordinary language *would (should) be* is always preferred:

Sh Ado II. 1.365 She were an excellent wife for Benedick | Congreve 165 I have always found you prudent . . .— I were a villain else! | Goldsm V 2.123 It were to be wished then that . . . | Lang T 74 It were superfluous labour to point at special beauties | That were a pity!

Were = 'would have been' in Sh H4B IV. 5.102 Thou hast stolne that, which after some few howres Were thine.

10.5(2). *Was* is here exceptional:

Quincey 282 But for an accident, Kant was a dead man | NP '29 If it were possible to lay down a single principle, and to prove syllogistically that the facts of experience could be derived from this principle, then the philosophic problem was solved (*was* seems to express greater certainty than *were* or *would be, would have been*).

According to P. W. Joyce, Ir 80 the Irish will sometimes say 'If they had gone out in their boat that night they were lost men'; i. e. they would have been lost men | She is now forty, and 'twas well if she was married = it would be well.

10.5(3). *Were* was formerly frequent in main sentences of imagination in the combination *me were as lief (liever)* and *me (I) were as good (better, best)*, most often with an infinitive; cf. on the case of the pronoun my ChE p. 88 ff. and III. 11.3$_1$, and on *had rather, would rather* 2.4(3), 19.9.

Sirith 382 me were levere then ani fe That he hevede enes leien bi me | Ch MP 5.511 him were as good be stille | Townl 117 I were better be hanged | More U 102 then I were as good to saye nothynge | Fulg 50 yet thou were as gode holde thy pease | Lyly C 307 He were best be as cunning as a bee | Marlowe T 1317 Giue her the crowne, Turkesse, you were best | Sh Meas III. 2.38

he were as good go a mile | As I.I. 3.92 I were better to bee married | R3 IV. 4.337 What were I best to say?

Cf. *was* and *were* in indirect speech 11.4(4).

Imaginative Infinitive.

10.6(1). The present infinitive often implies an element of imagination or unreality, when this idea is indicated in the words on which the infinitive is dependent:

Swift 3.367 he could have been content to keep me in his service as long as I lived | Macaulay H 10.25 they soon found that it would have been wise to propose a gentler censure | Doyle M 165 how impossible it would have been to leave C. in the lurch.

Perfect Infinitive.

10.6(2). The imaginative character of an infinitive is most often indicated by the use of the perfect; this use of the perfect infinitive has not, however, been understood by all grammarians, and as it would often be possible without any loss of clearness to substitute the present infinitive, the insertion of *have* is often condemned as pleonastic and even erroneous, and is therefore avoided by many writers.

10.6(3). The perfect infinitive of imagination may be the subject of a sentence, and expresses the same thing as an *if*-clause: *to have seen* = 'if he had seen', *to have fallen* = 'if I had fallen', etc.:

More U 179 it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue sene howe . . . | Defoe R 28 to have fallen into the hands of the savages, had been as bad | Scott Iv 204 It would have been no difficult thing for Cedric to have placed himself at the head of a third party | ib 295 | Austen S 15 the two ladies might have found it impossible to have lived together so long, had not a particular circumstance occurred (subject-part of a nexus-object) | Quincey 153 upon this sum it was, in my time, barely possible to have lived at college | Ru P 1.354 it would have been wiser to have left us | id S 46 it would have been enough to have said 'injustice' | Mered T 179 It would have comforted her to have been allowed to say: . . . | Pinero S 113 It would have done you good to have walked in the garden with us | Saintsbury Cbr H E Lit 3.295 it would have been extremely interesting to have heard Milton's opinion | Phillpotts K 141 To have died had been no great hardship then; for the life into which she now returned was more difficult than death.

Note the two possible combinations when the same idea of unreality is found in the subject and in the predicative:

Hunt A 359 To have made a noise would have been to bring down new shouts of laughter [= to make a noise would have been to have brought down . . .].

10.6(4). We say "you *ought to follow* her example" if the fulfilment is still possible, but "you *ought to have followed* her example" if this is no longer possible. In Ward M 115 a lady three years after her son's marriage asks herself: Ought she to have opposed it more strongly?

Cf. *need have* 1.7(3); *should have* 20.2(3).

10.7(1). An imaginative perfect infinitive is frequent after a verb meaning will, intention, expectation or hope in the past, where it generally serves to denote that the intention was not carried into effect:

Ch C 712 Right as they wolde han troden over a style, An old man . . . with hem mette | Caxton R 105 he wende to haue smyten hym . . . tho wende the wulf to haue ben plat blynde | Sh Ado V. 4.110 I did thinke to haue beaten thee | Hml V. 1.262 I thought thy bride-bed to haue deckt, sweet maid | Err III. 2.172 I thought to haue tane you at the Porpentine | Cy III. 6.47 I thought To haue begg'd or bought what I haue took | AV Judges 20.5 they thought to haue slaine mee [also Tobit 3.10] | Swift J 13 I thought to have sent this to-night, but was kept by company | Defoe R 32 I was once inclined to ha' gone on shoar | Johnson L 3.314 He was once inclined to have presented his poem in person . . . but his resolution deserted him | ib 3.303 He once intended to have made a better reparation [also id R 126] | Scott A 1.21 I little thought to have seen your honour here | ib 2.143 when I did not always expect to have been a bachelor | Brontë P 178 I little thought to have discovered my lost sheep straying amongst graves | Kingsley H 316 we were mightily minded to have leapt down to you | Ru T 23 I meant to have continued this subject | ib 214 | Rossetti 170 And sore he strove to have had their knives, But the sharp blades gashed his hands | Collins M 144 It was on the tip of my tongue to have given him a sharp answer | ib 362 My intention was certainly to have taken a turn in the shrubbery. But . . . I altered my mind | Hope M 123 I hoped to have asked you some day to rejoin us here || Bunyan G 105 we had begun . . . intending to have preached the word of the Lord | Quincey 155 I gave one-quarter to Ann, meaning, on my return, to have divided with her whatever might remain || Caxton R 84 . . . doughter . . . whom he had wende for to haue wonne | Sh Oth I. 2.5 I had thought t'haue yerk'd him here vnder the ribbes | Lamb R 37 I had hoped to have seen you at our house | ib 55 I had meant to have left off at this place | Thack P 669 He had never thought to have seen the young gentleman alive again when he went in search of Pen's relatives | Tenn L 1.271 I had intended to have sent it many a long month ago | Swinb L 108 I had hoped to have seen you and Clara pull together.

10.7(2). After some other verbs, where now the present infinitive would be used:

Sh Merch V. 1.204 If you had pleas'd to haue defended it | Behn 331 if she had [known] she possibly had taken more care to have been silent | Defoe R 14 Had I now had the sense to have gone back | ib 2.210 I would have been very glad to have gone back to the island, to have taken one of the rest from thence, but it could not be.

10.7(3). In the following two examples *would* has the full signification of volition; but in the former we should now rather say: "lest he might slay"; both serve to show the transition to the modern use of *would have* (cf. ch. XIX): Ch B 563 affrayed . . . lest that hir housbonde . . . wolde hire for Jhesu Cristes love han slayn | Caxton R 83 the apple of gold, whiche eche of them would haue had.

10.7(4). After the preposition *to* (= 'in order to') the same perfect infinitive was formerly used also to indicate an intention, which was not carried out:

Malory 710 the dore was shytte, and he sette his hand therto to haue opened hit, but he myghte not | id 736 he strode to hym to haue pulled of his helme of his hede | Marlowe H 1.341 With that Leander stoopt to haue imbrac'd her, But from his spreading armes away she cast her | Wilkins P 53 Dyonysa hired a seruant of hers to haue murdered her | Osborne 136 if I had gon it had bin to have wayted on my neighbour | Defoe R 55 I walk'd as far as I could upon the shore to have got to her.

Cf. also Sh Wiv IV. 5.40 I had other things to haue spoken with her too.

10.7(5). Thus further after *about to* (in the quotation from Milton even after a present) and *going to*:

Wilkins P 57 euen as he was about to haue giuen the fatall blow | Mi SA 727 now [she] stands & eies thee fixt, About t'have spoke | Sterne 30 I was just going to have given you the great outlines of my uncle Toby's character | ib 219 in all difficulties of my own (I was going to have remarked, of his too).

In Quincey 79 I could not fail to have enjoyed many happy hours [if I had remained there]—it would have been more usual to attach *have* to *fail*: I could not have failed to enjoy . . .

10.8(1). The imaginative perfect infinitive is also found after an expression containing already an indication of unreality:

Lowndes Ivy 199 But to do that he would have had to have played with Ivy as a powerful cat plays with a young mouse | Milne P 49 You would have had to have driven with one hand down all the hills . . . and Bob would have [= have had] to have walked here carrying his portmanteau.

10.8(2). This is particularly frequent after *like*, where beside the regular combination *I should have liked to see* (as in Kinglake E 181 there was much that I should have liked to ask this man | Thack P 575 whom he would have liked to massacre for having been witness to the broil) we find two other possible combinations, (a) with *have* shifted on to the second infinitive, and (b) with *have* before both infinitives, so as to emphasize the element of unreality or imagination:

(a) Austen M 260 I *should like to have seen* him once more | Di X 25 I should like to have given him something | Thack H 84 I should like to have seen the looks of these two gentlemen | ib 34 | Benson D 217 how I should like to have seen you!

(b) Di X 32 *I should have liked to have touched* her lips | Thack P 574 she was an old war-horse, and would have liked, at the trumpet's sound, to have entered the arena herself | Collins M 106 I should have liked to have gone to the station myself | Darwin L 2.228 modesty prevents me sending it to you, which I should have liked to have done | Meredith H 35 I should have liked to have told her | Doyle R 48 I should have loved to have seen those diamonds | Mason R 245 I would very much have liked to have had you . . .

Neither of these phrases seems to be found in Sh.

10.8(3). This perfect infinitive is very frequent after *had (been) better*:

Sh Oth III. 3.362 Thou had'st bin better haue bin borne a dog | Sterne 42 had not the fellow better have stopped his horse? | Austen M 86 you had better have stayed with us | ib 241 | id P 178 it had better have happened to you | Scott Iv 48 you had better have tarried there | Hunt A 83 There had much better have been none [no pudding] | ib 374 I will take this opportunity of doing what had better, perhaps, have been done when I first made his lordship's acquaintance | Di Do 321 they coincided in thinking that if Dombey must marry, he had better have married somebody nearer his own age | Ru T 105 it had incomparably better not have been built | Hawth Sn 76 they had better have stayed at home | Quiller-Couch M 195 How long have you been working here? Perhaps I had better have said 'idling'.

Cf. synonymous expressions: Ch R 1791 Betir me were to have leten be | Beaumont & Fl. 1.99 That Lady had been better have embrac'd Cureless Diseases || Mary Shelley F 77 I had rather have been for ever ignorant than have discovered so much depravity.

After *rather than*: Scott A 2.136 he would have fought knee-deep, rather than have given up a line.

10.8(4). It is also frequent after (more or less obsolete) expressions of likelihood:

Caxton R 95 we were lyke . . . to haue lost our lyues | Sh Hml V. 2.408 he was likely, had he beene put on, To haue prou'd most royally | Ado V. 1.115 We had like to haue had our two noses snapt off | Ben Jonson 3.246 here hath like to have been murder since you went | Spect 117 he maintained his post till he had like to have been blown up | Defoe R 59 but here I had like to have suffer'd a second shipwreck | ib 60 | id M 32 | Swift 3.17 | Fielding 5.353 Thus had it like to have happened to Mrs. Honour | Austen P 177 it seems likely to have been a desirable match for Jane [= that it would have been] | Di Do 442 he had like to have suffocated himself with this pleasantry.

10.8(5). In an 'accusative with the infinitive' the imaginative perfect infinitive is not very frequently used:

Sh Ado II. 1.261 she would haue made Hercules haue turned spit | Mcb V. 1.39 who would haue thought the olde man to haue had so much blood in him? | Defoe R 187 it would have made any one have thought I was haunted | id R 2.40 It would have made any man have shed tears, to have seen the transport of this poor fellow's joy | Lamb R 92 you would have taken her to have been at least five years older.

10.8(6). The perfect infinitive is a subjunct meaning the same thing as an *if*-clause:

Sh Gent II. 3.12 a Iew would haue wept to haue seene our parting | Cowper L 1.37 Rousseau would have been charmed to have seen me so occupied | Austen M 257 she would have been glad to have been sure of such a letter every week | Scott Iv 55 more welcome would they have been to have ridden further on their way.

In the following instances, too, in which the infinitive is added to an adjective with *enough* or similar expressions, the notion of an unreal hypothesis is clear:

Sh Alls I. 1.34 hee was skilfull enough to haue liu'd stil, if knowledge could be set up against mortallitie | Sh-fol. 1623 preface: It had bene a thing worthie to haue bene wished, that the author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings | Ben Jonson 1.106 here was enough to have infected the whole city | id 3.81 O, that his well-driven sword Had been so courteous to have cleft me | id 3.224 I would I had been worthy to have partaken your counsel | Bunyan G 31 had they been capable to have understood me | Mi PL 3.98 I made him just and right, Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall | Defoe R 57 beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion | ib 100 I had gotten timber enough to have builded a good boat, if I had known how | ib 147 If I had had hands to have refitted her | Franklin 157 The colonies, so united, would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves | Lamb R 9 she was old enough to have made it herself | Di N 127 Miss S. was quite lazy enough to have been a fine lady | Collingwood R 121 the etchings show that he was fully competent to have produced his own illustrations, had it been worth his while.

10.8(7). A frequent combination is *was to have done*, by which is expressed a plan that was not carried out differing from *was to do*, 'after-past' cf. 22.2(2), by the moment of unreality); (The same idea was expressed by Shakespeare by means of *should have*: Wint IV. 4.794).

Gay BP 33 I was to have been of that party—but— | Swift J 492 I was to have dined to-day with Lord Keeper, but would not | ib 115 | Fielding 8.384 we were to have sailed the next morning | Goldsm V 2.192 Miss Wilmot, who was next day to have been married to Mr. Thornhill | Keats 5.31 I was to have dined with him to-morrow | Scott A 2.110 I was to have been made a sergeant | Lamb R 30 this was to have been an important evening | Kingsley H 375 that evening, so Cyril had promised, twenty monks were to have gone with him | Carlyle R 1.310 We were to have gone and seen Coleridge to-morrow | Dickinson S 5 Canteloupe, who was to have read the paper, had brought nothing to read | McKenna Ninety 33 He was to have dined with us, but a strange woman appeared in sight . . . | Bennett T 223 George was to have been of the afternoon party; but he had not arrived.

Cf. the same meaning with the simple infinitive: Swift J 363 Lord Treasurer was to be there, but came not.

In the same way we find in *if*-clauses *had been to have* (obsolete): Behn 331 as if death had been to have arrived that minute, they both lingered away the time | ib 317 | Defoe R 73 what would have been my case if I had been to have liv'd in the condition in which I at first came on shore.

10.8(8). The perfect and present infinitive in close proximity in the same sense of unreality:

Sterne 40 he had nothing to do but to have taken hold of the two pieces, and throw them gently upon the back of the fire. He did no such thing | Wells N 114 we should have been prigs to have concealed our spontaneous interests and ape the theoretical boy.

10.8(9). Sometimes in composite imaginative expressions, the indication of the past might in itself with equal justness be added to either of two verbs; and we therefore find that different languages go different ways; thus to English *he could [might] have done it*, Dan. *han kunde ha(ve) gjort det*, corresponds Fr. *il aurait pu le faire*, G. *er hätte es tun können.* As the auxiliaries in English have no participle, *have* is added to the dependent verb: *could (might, must, ought to, should, would) have done it* (*need have done* it, cf. 1.7(3)); with *dare* there is some vacillation as this verb has a participle:

P Plowm Prol. 178 þere ne was ratoun . . . þat dorst haue ybounden þe belle | Sh Cæs IV. 3.58 When Cæsar liu'd, he durst not thus haue mou'd me. Peace, peace, you durst not so haue tempted him. I durst not? No. What, durst not tempt him? | Cowper (q) My advice however salutary and necessary, as it seemed to me, was such as I dared not have given to a poet of less diffidence than he | Thack N 838 If my Mack was here, you never had dared to have done this | Stevenson T 253 When Captain Smollett was well, you dared not have gone off [= would not have dared to go].

Participle = Infinitive.

10.9(1). The use of the second participle instead of the perfect infinitive after *would*, *should* and similar preterits of imagination is found in ME and ElE, and since then particularly often in Scotch (examples abound in Burns). The same idiom is frequent in Danish (*vilde gjort*, *kunde gjort*, etc.). Examples (in the first *been* may be a present infinitive, though the meaning is rather 'have been'):

Ch B 4641 Thou woldest been a trede-foul aright | Caxton R 46 he sholde not escaped thens | Dekker Sh

III. 3.61 I would haue sworn the puling girle Would willingly accepted Hammons loue | Sh Cor IV. 6.34 We should by this, to all our lamentation, If he had gone forth consull, found it so | Burns 1.145 'Twad been nae plea | ib 146 He wad na wrang'd the vera Deil | ib 279 O Tam, hadst thou but been sae wise, As taen thy ain wife Kate's advice [ed.: as taen = to have taken] | id 3.80 Three blyther hearts . . . Ye wad na found in Christendie | Scott A 1.358 ye wad thought Sir Arthur had a pleasure in it | Austen M 390 could she have been at home, she might been of service [printer's error?].

Other examples are gathered by Fitzedward Hall, Amer. Journal of Philol. vol. III (1882), and by Moore Smith, Mod. L. Review 1910, p. 346.

In 1911 I heard a peasant woman in Northumberland say *he would could direct you*, and was told that this was usual there.

10.9(2). Are the following American examples due to Sc, or may they be independent recent developments as in the frequent Amr *I got to see* = 'I've got to see', etc.?

Twain H 1.158 I wouldn't done that | London V 64 He ought to had my number | ib 221 you oughta seen the street cars . . . you oughta heard the clubs | ib 269, 276 | ib 235 it might jus as easy ben the other way around | ib 408 you'd a-died to seen one of 'em | Lewis MS 406 You ought to gone to San Luis Obispo | id EG 86 I would of [= have] liked to had you try your hand at politics | Ade Artie 6 You ought to seen the two | ib 16 You ought 'o heard the roar | ib 26 You ought o' seen me.

10.9(3). A similar, though not exactly parallel use of the participle where an infinitive might have been expected, is found in the following sentences, in which the participle seems due to attraction to the preceding participle:

[Ch E 1098 god . . . Hath doon you kept (= has made you keep; cf. also ib A 1913)] | Osborne 69 to talke somtimes as if hee would have had mee beleev'd he might have had her (cf. Moore Smith's note p. 243) | Defoe R 143 I wanted several ingredients requisite to make it so good as I would have had it been | ib 316 My men would fain have me given them leave [= have me have given].

Chapter XI.

Indirect Speech.

Back-Shifting.

11.1(1). When one wishes to report what someone else says or has said (thinks or has thought)—or what one has said or thought on some previous occasion oneself—two ways are open to one. Either one gives, or purports to give, the exact words: *direct speech*—but this does not concern us in this volume—or else one adapts the words according to the circumstances in which they are now quoted: *indirect speech*—and in this the tenses are very often different from what they would have been in direct speech (PG 292 ff.). This is true whether we have *dependent speech* (introduced by some sentence like "he said that" or "he thought that", etc.) or *reported speech* (not introduced by some such sentence); the latter kind is by other writers termed "style indirect libre" or "erlebte rede".

The most important case of tense-shifting in indirect speech is what I shall term *back-shifting.* It occurs when the main sentence is (or would be if it were expressed) in the past. Typical examples are:

Direct speech:	Indirect speech:
	He said (thought) that
"I am glad to see you"	(1) he was glad to see me
"I saw her on Tuesday"	(2) he had seen her on Tuesday
"I have not seen her yet"	(3) he had not seen her yet.

We shall call these uses of the tenses

(1) back-shifted present
(2) back-shifted preterit
(3) back-shifted perfect.

The pluperfect cannot be further shifted: "I had already seen her before she bowed" becomes "he said that he had already seen her before she bowed". The indirect "had seen" thus corresponds to three direct tenses, *saw*, *has seen* and *had seen*. Cf. 22.5.

11.1(2). The shifting of the tenses is often quite natural and, in fact, inevitable, when the fact reported belongs definitely to the past, as in "he told me that she was ill, but now (he tells me that) she is all right again". Similar examples are:

Ch B 390 this sowdan . . . seyde his wyf was comen | Sh Cæs III. 1.12 I wish your enterprize to day may thriue . . . What said Popillius Lena? He wisht to day our enterprize might thriue | Di D 502 I told her how I loved her . . . how I was always working with a courage such as none but lovers knew . . . how a crust well-earned was sweeter than a feast inherited.

11.1(3). But the last sentences in the quotation from Dickens show us the frequent phenomenon that the shifting is not required logically, but is due simply to mental inertia: the speaker's mind is moving in the past, and he does not stop to consider whether each dependent statement refers to one or the other time, but simply goes on speaking in the tense adapted to the leading idea. In many combinations it requires a certain effort to use the present tense, even if something is stated as universally true at all times or as referring to the present moment in contrast to the time of speaking. Consequently we cannot expect a rigid system of sequence of tenses to be always strictly observed. It is evident that the effort of remembering that something is to be put in the present is less in cases like "we learnt at school that 2 and 2 *is* 4" than in some of the cases instanced below. As

Sweet remarks (Hist. of L. 70) "in such a sentence as *the ancients did not know that Africa . . . an island*, we hesitate whether to use *was* or *is*."

Note the shifting of *I'm sure* in Mered H 77 he was remarking how glad he was, he was sure | ib 98 the lady rejoined that she hoped so, she was sure.

11.1(4). A typical instance of the shifting is Shaw Ms 13, where the speaker discovers the presence of Lord S. and exclaims: "Oh, Lord Summerhays, I didnt know you were here"—where it would have been unnatural to say *are*. Cf. further:

Bosw 1.428 O! I forgot you were married | Galsw FM 44 we didn't realise you knew we weren't married | Bennett LM 24 because you clean forgot it was my birthday to-day | Shaw StJ 45 I told you she was a witch.—She is not a witch | Sutton Vane Outw Bound 66 I'm right! I knew I was | Wilde P 36 people advised me to try and forget who I was | Shaw 1.46 I never knew that my house was a glass one until you pointed it out | Zangwill G 55 you discovered I was Irish.

11.1(5). Note especially the occurrence of the preterit after a question:

AV Gen 3.11 Who told thee, that thou wast naked? | Shaw P 290 What hour did you say we were to lunch at? | id StJ 108 I am not cruel by nature, you know.—Who said you were? | Di P 207 What did you say his name was? (also ib 211) | Dane FB 64 What did you say was your grandfather's name? | Hope C 122 how did you know I was here? [here I am—how did you know that?] | id D 40 where did you say she lived?

11.1(6). The direct preterit does not always become a pluperfect: "I didn't know that you had so much money" may imply either 'I now discover that you have so much' or 'that you [then] had'; but in the latter case *you had had* may also be said.

Curme (CG) says that there is less inclination to shift the perfect than the present: He brought vividly to their minds that honesty has always been the best policy | The old conductor told me that he has not missed a single trip since he entered the service of the road | I learned this morning that they have begun work on the bridge. But Moore Smith tells me that it would be more natural to shift in these sentences.

11.1(7). In the following instances we have "eternal truths" or something similar back-shifted to the preterit:

Ch A 183 I seyde, his opinioun was good | Bunyan G 12 at that time I felt what guilt was | Defoe R 2.125 they put one another in mind that there was a God | Franklin 12 my father convinced me that nothing was useful which was not honest | Goldsm V 1.1 I was ever of opinion, that the honest man who married and brought up a large family, did more service than he who continued single | id 653 It was a saying of his, that no man was sure of his supper till he had eaten it | Hunt A 129 nobody felt more instinctively, that forms were necessary to preserve essence | Hope D 101 he once said to me that man was essentially imperfect until he was married | Barrie W 41 had it not been for her conviction that reading was idling | Galsw C 258 he thought that, to see things as they were, meant, to try and make them worse.

11.2(1). *If I was* is found in indirect speech as a shifted "if I am":

Bunyan G 119 I told him . . . if I was out of prison to day, I would preach the gospel again to-morrow | Defoe R 2.5 she was assur'd, that if she was dead, it would be the first thing I would do | id R 268 I told him that I would never send him away from me, if he was willing to stay with me [also 204] | Franklin 179 he wished my attendance there, if the posture of affairs on the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary | Mrs. Carlyle 2.369 I thought if Emily was going somewhere too, I might be wished to go away.

11.2(2). *If he is to . . .* is shifted into *if he was to*, which is to be distinguished from the imaginative subjunctive *if he were to . . .* with unstressed *were* (cf. 10.3(3)).

Austen S 268 if he was to go into orders, he could get nothing but a curacy | Macaulay H 2.104 His work, he said, was done. If England was still to be saved, she must be saved by younger men | NP '19 It was clear that if the league was to be a success, and there was to be a new era in international affairs, a just and durable settlement of the war must be secured | Bennett RS 274 If anyone was to die she wanted it to be Mr. E.

11.2(3). The direct *if . . . were to* is not changed in indirect speech:

Brontë J 179 Mrs. F. said she should not be surprised if he were to go straight to London | Doyle S 5.127 If any visitor were to ask no information should be given.

11.3(1). Back-shifted tenses occur in what is formally, though not notionally, an independent sentence: James A 1.263 Love, he believed, *made* a fool of a man.—Thus very often in long reports of speeches, where "said he" is not repeated over and over again ("Represented speech", PG 291).

11.3(2). There is a curious use of the preterit dependent on a not expressed main verb in cases like this: Someone has told me "I am going to Bristol on Thursday". A little later I remember that he is going, but forget the date, and ask: "What day were you going to Bristol?" or "Was it on Thursday or Friday you were going to Bristol?" (= What day did you say you were . . .). Cf. "what was it again?" 5.4(5) note.

11.3(3). A present, which in a clause subjunct would mean the future time, is often back-shifted:

Shelley L 417 I promised to write to you, when I was in the humour [= I shall . . . when I am . . .] | Doyle R 128 his father's wise advice that he should not think of marrying until he was a Commander [don't marry till you are . . .] | id S 1.127 I left him with the conviction that when I came again on the next evening I would find that he held in his hands the clues | Gissing H 279 Now and then he asked himself what was to become of him when sickness or old age forbade his earning even the modest income | Jameson F 311 [prospective mother] thinking that these would not be the first things her little son saw, as she had meant them to be; and wondering what the bed would be like in which he was born.

11.4(1). When Falstaff re-appears (in Sh H4A V. 4.134), John of Lancaster exclaims: "But soft, who haue we here? Did you not tell me this fat man was dead?". Here the use of the preterit *was* somehow expresses that the saying was untruthful; in the same way *thought* with a dependent preterit very often implies that the supposition was wrong:

The ancients thought that the sun moved round the earth; they did not know that it is the earth that moves round the sun | Towneley 103 I thoght by youre gowne This was youre aray | Hope D 23 I thought you were a gentleman [= now I see you are not] | Milne Mr. Pim 32 You always said that he was dead.—Well, I always thought that he was dead | Chesterton F 172 I thought you didn't believe in magic | Ellis Ess. of Phonetics 1849. 37 this has given rise to the idea, that the Londoners pronounced "law" as [lɔ·r].

This use of the preterit thus has points of similarity with its imaginative use in hypothetical statements.

11.4(2). But often the wrongness of the supposition leads to a further shifting into the pluperfect, though the real time-relation is the same as if the simple preterit had been used:

Fulg 5 I thought verely by your apparell That ye had bene a player | ib 27 I wold not haue thoughte That thou haddest bene halfe so wyse | Malory 724 they wend alle he had been dede | Marlowe F 124 I had thought thou hadst been a batcheler | Sh As II. 7.107 I thought that all things had bin sauage heere | H4A IV. 2.58 My good Lord, I cry your mercy, I thought your Honour had already beene at Shrewsbury | H4B V. 3.40 I did not thinke M. Silence had bin a man of this mettle | Congreve 255 I did not think you had been read in these matters | Defoe Rox 13 I thought it had been Amy | id M 120 they entertained me not like what I was, but like what they thought I had been | Sheridan 282 I thought, Dangle, you had been an admirable linguist! | ib 298 why, I thought those fellows had been asleep.

11.4(3). The tense is shifted not only after a preterit meaning the past, but also after the imaginative preterit:

Ch G 604 And ['if'] ye him knewe . . . Ye wolde wondre how wel and craftily He coude werke [= he can] | Sh H4A III. 3.162 if he said my ring was copper | Osborne 135 wee are not to expect the worlde should discerne we were not like the rest | Fielding 5.440 well would it have been for me if I had never known what love was | Collins W 225 How should he have known, otherwise, that Mr. Merriman was Sir Percival's solicitor? | Pinero S 72 It would be a real comfort to me if you would make me feel we belonged to each other | Bennett HL 63 does it lead to anything? I should say it did! | Maxwell S 297 Why did you look at me like that—as if you thought it was useless to go on writing to him? | I suppose you are glad. I should think I was | If we went, people would think we were mad || Ward M 55 If I had only known we were to have had the pleasure of meeting you ["I did not know I was to have the p." is thus made hypothetical]. (Cf. the pluperfect in 11.4(2).)

Note the following conversation, in which the perfect is not shifted though the present is: Maugham TL 242 I wish I could say that I've never been afraid.—I wish you could say that you believed in God.

11.4(4). In most of these sentences it is impossible to see whether the shifted tense is in the indicative or subjunctive; in some we find the indicative *was*; but sometimes we also find the subjunctive *were*, which in this case is distinctly literary:

Sh Ado IV. 1.40 Would you not sweare All you that see her, that she were a maide . . . But she is none | Galsw P 2.46 If I thought there were anything between Molly and Mr. Lever, do you suppose I'd have him in the house?

11.5(1). Finally, I give some examples in which the tense has not been adjusted to that of the chief verb:

Sh Merch I. 1.18 I should be still Plucking the grasse to know where sits the wind [more vivid than: *sat*; note *still*] | Ellis M 28 It was firmly believed that the frontal region is the seat of the highest intellectual processes | Hope R 19 I didn't even know that the count was gone, much less why he's gone [perhaps on account of the distance from *didn't know*; or else because it means: much less do I know . . .] | Wells JP 514 Joan knew that it is the feminine rôle to lead conversation | Shaw StJ 25 Pythagoras—A sage who held that the earth is round, and that it moves round the sun | Sutro Choice 50 if men knew what women are made of, the world would come to an end pretty soon.

Note the following two quotations: in the first the speaker corrects herself; in the second the tag-question is perhaps the reason for the present: Ferber S 351 She was the first person to tell me what beauty was—is | Rose Macaulay O 69 Perhaps they also said on Orphan Island that the world was small, that boys would be boys, that we've only one life, haven't we.

Onions quotes such colloquial sentences as: He had no idea what twice two *is* [also *was*] | I asked the guard what time the train usually starts.—In the following quotation the present *lay* emphasizes the fact that we really do lay out money: Seeley E 63 Who ever thought of enquiring whether Cornwall or Kent *rendered* any sufficient return for the money which we *lay* out upon them, whether those counties *were* worth keeping?

A peculiar instance is the following, in which *was* would not be possible: Hardy R 243 I wish people wouldn't be so ready to think that there *is* no progress without uniformity [people think there *is* . . .].

11.5(2). The imaginative preterit (and the preterit after *it is time*, see 9.6) is not further shifted in cases like

Hardy R 219 I wished I was dead for hours after [I wish I was d.] | Wells H 154 [he thought:] Even if she had gone out to lunch, it was time she was back | Rose Macaulay P 227 Jane said it was time she took him to bed.

11.5(3). Note that "She said it would kill him if he remained here" may he a shifted "It will kill him if he remains here" just as well as "It would kill him if he remained here".

Special Cases.

11.6(1). *Must* is extremely frequent in indirect speech. As this form is now rarely used to denote a real past (see 1.6), it now looks as if it were an unshifted present tense:

She said she must be back by seven | Beaconsf L 45 the waiter felt that one was speaking to him who must be obeyed | Di Do 168 the chronometer at last announced that Walter must turn his back to the wooden midshipman | Darwin L 1.75 When Mrs. Farrar began to sing, I jumped up and said that I must listen to her | Barrie M 185 a silence that gave Babbie time to remember she must go | Caine M 255 was it not enough that she should go away herself? Must she rob him of the child as well? | ib 304 Philip felt as if he must rush out of the house shrieking | Doyle S 1.248 it would of course instantly strike him that he must get rid of the tell-tale garments | Bentley T 145 he knew suddenly who the woman must be.

11.6(2). The same remark applies to *ought*:

She said she ought to know, as she was his mother.—Note the shifting in the perfect infinitive (different from the use mentioned above 10.6(4)): Bennett L 4 At that very moment she herself ought to have been dancing [= she thought: now I ought to be dancing].

11.7. Some more or less fossilized expressions must be treated specially.

11.7(1). *May be* is often unshifted because it has become practically an adverb = 'perhaps' (dial. *mebbe*):

Hay B 15 I thought may be you could help me ‖ Conway C 36 my heart grew sick as I thought it may be there were two victims instead of one. Cf. also: Zangwill G 95 I wanted to work for her, to suffer for her, *if need be* | Macdonald F 230 Franklin and his men were prepared to fight to the death if need be (also Caine P 172, 217, etc.).

11.7(2). For similar reasons subjunctives and imperatives are kept unshifted in the following sentences:

Bunyan G 109 When I had answered him, that blessed be God I was well | Defoe Rox 149 He told me, God be thanked, he was in no necessity of going anywhere | Fielding 5.570 with which the parson concurred, saying, The Lord forbid he should be instrumental in committing an innocent person to durance | Mitford OV 84 he silenced [it] by telling all . . . that he had given his lodger fair warning, that, let people say what they would, he was quite determined not to marry her | Di D 321 Mrs Crupp said, thank Heaven she had now found summun she cared for! | Bennett A 75 her melancholy became grim; if she was doomed to destruction, so let it be | Maugham Painted Veil 69 she was growing a trifle impatient: [and thought:] if he wanted to sulk, let him, she didn't care.

11.7(3). In Hope C 237 "Nevertheless, be this view as just as it might, the present position came nigh to be intolerable" and Hawthorne S 63 "Be that as it might, the scaffold of the pillory was . . ." and many similar combinations it would be impossible to substitute *were* in accordance with the tense of *might*; we must therefore say that the combination *be that as it may* is back-shifted by the mere change of the last verb. It is probable that *be* here is taken by the popular instinct to be an infinitive, just as *do* in "*do what he would*, he was sure to be blamed". The whole phrase is kept unchanged in Tracy

P 198 Stuart felt that, *come what may*, he must adopt one of two alternatives.

Present Subjunctive.

11.7(4). The present Subjunctive is not shifted to the preterit in verbal reports of proposals or motions, etc. Though *that* is used here, the form of direct report is thus really maintained; the reason probably being that *be*, etc., is felt as an imperative implying the future, which is unshifted (cf. 11.7(2)), while *were* would be felt as an expression for the unreal or hypothetical and thus would seem to stamp the proposal as impracticable. It should also be noted that in the case of any other verb than *be*, a shifting of the tense would obliterate the distinction between the subjunctive and the indicative; in the competition between the modal and the temporal idea therefore the former carries the day.

Examples: Swift T 13 it was judged of absolute necessity that some present expedient be thought on, 'till the main design can [instead of *could*, on account of *be*] be brought to maturity | McCarthy 2.120 Lord John Russell moved a resolution to the effect that Mr. Salomons be ordered to withdraw | ib 2.478 eleven members voted against the motion that the bill be read a second time | Craigie Primer of Burns 16 he insisted that the written engagement be given up to be cancelled | Parker R 104 he advised that the Curé be sent for | Norris O 290 he suggested that Lyman be put forward as the candidate.

11.7(5). There is a curious combination of the subjunctive and the indicative in the following sentences: NP '96 Congress . . . passed the following resolution: That the President *be and is hereby* requested to invite negotiations with any Government . . . [*is* emphasizes the urgency of the request] | NP '99 He moved that the conduct of Mr P. was reprehensible [= be considered as r.] and that he be admonished by the moderator.

11.7(6). Where there is no verbal report of a proposal or motion, it is more natural to insert *should*, but even in that case some writers (especially in America) prefer the present subjunctive, as in

Kinglake E 107 Religion commanded me that I fall down loyally, and kiss the rock | Poe 349 it was necessary that some immediate effort be made | Page J 275 decency required that I go to see him | Lewis MS 66 Carol suggested that Miss Sherwin stay for supper, and that Kennicott invite Guy Pollock | id MA 443 she insisted that he knock before entering, and she demanded that he admire her hats | Marshall Sorry Scheme 152 His code demanded that he examine both sides of the question | Rogers Wine of Fury 77 the neatness with which he had arranged that she go with her brother.

I have scores of examples of this from American novels and newspapers, and a few from England (Scotland?), but most of my English friends say that it is rare and rather unnatural in these cases to leave out *should.*

11.7(7). After *lest* American writers also often use the present subjunctive, where *should* would be used in England:

Parker R 103 there must be no bungling, lest his prostrate master suffer at the same time | Worth S 12 we sat on the river-bank and ought to have been silent lest the fish swim away | Dreiser AT 1.145 they were in a panic, lest they be overtaken by the police | B. Stevenson Boule Cabinet 225 I was in mortal terror lest I drop one of my shoes | Lewis B 345 she worried lest the maid leave | Robinson Mind in the Making 23 Descartes burned a book he had written, On the World, lest he, too, get into trouble | Bromfield Good Wom. 76, etc.

This is rare after *that*:

Cooper Marriage 230 she turned her head . . . anxious that he be there | Ertz Mme Claire 291 Madame Claire agreed to this, on the condition that when she came for him again at six, she stay for half an hour | ib 304 Eric forgave her on the sole condition that she maintain that same friendly attitude when he was well again. That, and that alone he insisted upon, that she treat him like a friend instead of an enemy.

The only old quotations I have for the use of the present subjunctive here treated are: Ch B 413 When tyme cam, men thoughte it for the beste That revel stynte and men goon to hir reste; here *stynte* might be either the present or the past tense, and that may have induced the present *goon* | Sh Merch IV. 1.261 'Twere good you do so much for charitie.

Main Verb Futuric.

11.8(1). In most cases of shifting of tenses in reported speech the main verb refers to some time in the past; therefore we have back-shiftings; but corresponding shiftings (forward-shiftings) may occur after a main verb in the future, though these cases are rarer. When we imagine a person, who is now absent, saying at some future date "I regret I was not present then", we naturally say: "He will regret that he is not present now".

11.8(2). But in Sh H5 IV. 3.64 the King uses the preterit that belongs to the direct speech of the gentlemen concerned (though he says *here* which implies his own standpoint): And gentlemen in England, now a bed, Shall think themselues accurst they *were* not here, And hold their manhoods cheape, whiles any speakes, That *fought* with vs vpon Saint Crispines day | Di N 751 [we shall be staid old people] recollecting with a melancholy pleasure that the time was when they [these cares] could move us. Perhaps then, when we are quaint old folks and talk of the times when our step was lighter and our hair not grey, we may be even thankful for the trials that so endeared us to each other, and turned our lives into that current down which we shall have glided so peacefully.

Mr. John Robertson of Melbourne calls my attention to the following instances of the same phenomenon: Tenn En. Arden, near the end: Tell her that I died . . . was spent . . . that I died . . . that I blest him | id Lancelot and Elaine, towards the end: Then take the little bed on which I died | Wordsw Lines Tintern Abbey: We stood together . . . came . . . were to me more dear. Near the end of Macaulay's Essay on Lord Holland there are at least a dozen similar sentences.

"He wishes he had not accused" (plpf imaginative) is unchanged after a future: Sh Ado IV. 1.234 Then shal he . . . wish he had not so accused her.

11.9. In the conversation "I thought you had some influence with him". "Once I had, but I haven't. I wish I had" we have three different employments of the preterit *had*: (1) the back-shifted present in indirect speech; (2) the normal past time; (3) the preterit of imagination.

On *will*, *shall*, *would*, *should* in indirect speech see ch. XXI.

Chapter XII.

The Expanded Tenses.

12.1(1). This non-committal term is here used for the combination of forms of the verb *be* with the First Participle: *I am writing*, *was writing*, *have been writing*, *had been writing*, *be writing* (*must be writing*, *shall be writing*, *will be writing*, *will have been writing*, etc.).

Other names for these composite forms are *definite tenses* (Sweet), *continuous tenses* (Onions), *progressive forms* (Kruisinga and others). The Joint Committee of 1909 used the term "Continuous forms" of the tenses, but on the following page (15) we read: "the tense called Past has a double use, (1) as a Past Historic . . . (2) as a Past Continuous, e. g. . . . 'England loved Queen Victoria'; 'Milton wrote Latin verse'." (Is this unhistoric?) This double use of the term *Continuous* is one of the most perplexing features of their Report; it is ultimately due to the attempt to bring together such tenses as the French *imparfait* and the English expanded preterit, which corresponds to one only of the functions of the French forms.

The fullest treatise on the origin and history of these tenses is Åkerlund, *On the History of the Definite Tenses in English* (Lund and Cambr., 1911), where earlier treatments are enumerated. In the following pages I shall make use of some of Åkerlunds statistics, while supplementing them from my own researches and deviating from some of his conclusions.

On the ending of the verbal substantive and its formal relation to the participle and the OE inflected infinitive see G. Ch. van Langenhove, *On the Origin of the Gerund in English* (Gand et Paris, 1925).

In 14.9 will be found my criticism on various views of the origin and use of the expanded tenses.

Historical Introduction.

12.1(2). In Old English a certain number of expanded tenses (*beon* or *wesan* + *-ende*) are found, but much more frequently in translations than in original works; in Beowulf we have only 3 [or 5? O. J.] examples and in the Chronicle only about 24, while in the Blickling Homilies, which are a close translation from Latin, we have about 130 instances (Åkerlund, p. 6). Similarly, in the original parts of Orosius. i. e. the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, there is only one instance, while in a passage of the same length, taken from the translated part of the same work 24 instances are found.

12.1(3). Why, then, were the translators so fond of a construction which evidently was foreign to their natural speech-instinct? In the first place it was caused by the Latin present participles. Thus in many of the passages analyzed by Curme (PMLA 28. 1896): *þu byst andweald hæbbende* : potestatem habens | *wæs on temple lærende* : eram . . . docens | *wæron . . . etende and drincynde and wifigende and gifta syllende* : erant comedentes et bibentes nubentes et nuptum tradentes | *wæs bodigende* : erat prædicans | *wæs wundriende* : erat . . . mirantes | *wæs . . . hrymende and . . . ceorfende* : erat . . . et clamans et concidens.

It would of course be unprofitable to look in such cases for subtle nuances in OE idiom: the translators merely followed the Latin text without re-thinking the sentences in English. Next there is one phenomenon first pointed out by Grimm (Grammatik 4.4) and later by

Schmidt (as quoted Wülfing 2.40): most of these expanded forms in translations render Latin verba deponentia. I can find no other reason for this curious phenomenon, which cannot be caused by any intrinsic notional correspondence, than this: the translator wanted to render a Latin expression consisting of two words (an auxiliary and a verbal form) by means of a similar collocation: consecutus est = *wæs fylgende* | persecutus sit = *wæs ehtende* | passus est = *wæs ðrowiende* | egressus est = *wæs ferende* | locutus est = *wæs sprecende* | ne sis oblitus = *ne beo þu forgitende*; the same tendency is found in those passages in which Wülfing discovers "umschreibung des futurs", e. g. sumus dicturi = *we syndon sprecende* | quem sit habitura finem = *hwylcne ende hæbbende sy* | judicaturus est = *demende is*; also in the infin. accepturum esse = *onfonde beon* | fuisse habiturum = *hæbbende beon.* Apart from these periphrastic Latin forms, it is possible that the old translators had in their schools been so trained to render passive forms by means of auxiliaries + participle, that they transferred this to other instances of passive Latin forms without regard to their meaning, and that this in the sole reason why, for instance *meditabitur* is rendered *he byð smeagende.* (Similarly Old Norse translations, *Tid og tempus* 408 note.) At any rate it is perfectly futile to search for real syntactical reasons for the employment of the periphrastic forms in translated OE texts. In the above paper (408—9) I quoted four different ingenious interpretations of the passage Ælfric Hom. 1.504 *þa sona on anginne þæs gefeohtes wæs se munt Garganus bifigende mid ormætre cwacunge*, where our worthy translator, I imagine, was neither thinking of beginning or duration of the earthquake, but simply in the sweat of his brow translated the Latin passive *immenso tremore concutitur* as he had been taught at school to translate all passives without minute considerations of meaning.

12.1(4). Even in the comparatively few instances occurring in original texts the expanded forms "are only vaguely differentiated from the simple forms" (Sweet); their "function scarcely differs from that of the simple form" (Åkerlund). The only thing that can yet be said with safety is that the expanded forms are often found where now the simple forms would be used, and that inversely the latter are found in innumerable passages where we should now use the expanded forms. The participial constructions are curiously frequent with verbs meaning fighting *(feohtende, winnende)* and with *eardigende* and *wuniende* 'living'; the latter idea is expressed in this way in ME, too, more frequently than other ideas: *was wuniende, ys abydyng, was dwellinge* (several times in Ch): here the participle is used to denote the same permanence that is generally implied in adjectives; but it is noteworthy that in most, or all, cases ModE would have the simple forms.

12.1(5). In some cases the participle must really be considered an adjective, and the combination with *be* cannot be considered an expanded tense proper. Cf. below 14.8(4). Thus in OE *lifigende is*, now *is living* (= 'alive'), cf. Danish (where we have no expanded forms) *er levende*; OE Beda 473 swylce eac ðeos eorþe *is berende* missenlicra fugela = *ferax*, cf. Wülfing 1.28; note the genitive of the object.

12.1(6). In early ME the expanded construction is so rare that not a single instance is found in Sweet's *First ME Primer* (extracts from *Ancrene Riwle* and *Orrmulum*), nor in *Havelok* (Åkerlund's only example from that text 945 Of alle man was he mest meke, Lauhwinde ay, and bliþe of speke, is evidently adjectival, the participle being parallel to two adjectives). Åkerlund has found only one case in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* and one in the *Early Engl. Allit. Poems*; it is rare in *Piers the Plowman* and seems to be absent from *The Engl. Works of Wyclif*; Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate likewise make a sparing use of the expanded forms; Åkerlund found some 30 instances in CT and Troilus; in 150 pages of Chaucer, two of my pupils counted 14, of which some were doubtful, and in many ways his usage deviates from modern rules. The expanded forms are scarcely found, if at all, in such early comedies as *Roister* and *Gammer Gurton*; they are rare in Marlowe and Shakespeare: Franz counts (Sh-Gr. § 622, § 634) only two instances in Tit., 12 in Wiv., 11 in H4A and 'more than a dozen' in H8. On AV see 12.4(1). The forms are rare in Milton's poetry, though comparatively more frequent in his prose. But it is not till Bunyan and, even more pronouncedly, Addison that we find the modern rules for the employment of the expanded forms carried out to their full extent and with the precision of our own times. *Is being* with the second participle *(is being built)* does not make its appearance till the end of the 18th, and with an adjective *(is being polite)* not till the end of the 19th century; *is having* also belongs to the 19th century.

Poetry is generally more sparing than prose in its use of the expanded tenses as being too heavy and unwieldy to sound well; none are found in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, Goldsmith's *Traveller* or *Deserted Village*, Byron's *Prisoner of Chillon* or Shelley's *Alastor* (there are two in *Adonais*).

12.1(7). These historical considerations, especially the vagueness of the OE employment as against the well defined modern usage, and the nearly complete absence of the forms from early ME, led me to assert in the first edition of *Growth* (1905, p. 205) that the periphrastic tenses "seem to have little, if anything, to do with the OE *he wæs feohtende*"; I explained the modern forms as "aphetic for *I am a-reading*, where *a* represents the preposition *on*, and the form in *-ing* is not the participle, but the noun". In the second edition (published in 1912, but printed off before the appearance of Åkerlund's dissertation of 1911) I modified this too sweeping assertion into the following: "they are to a great extent due to the old construction *I am a-reading*", etc., and this wording has been kept in subsequent editions. I may define my position in this way: the modern English expanded tenses are in some vague way a continuation of the old combinations of the auxiliary verb and the participle in *-ende*; but after this ending had been changed into *-inge* and had thus become identical with that of the verbal substantive, an amalgamation took place of this construction and the combination *be on* + the sb, in which *on* had become *a* and was then dropped (by aphesis, cf. I 9.95). This amalgamation accounts, not only for the greatly increasing frequency of the construction, but also for the much greater precision with which the expanded forms are used in modern times, as well as for such peculiarities as the frequency of the prep. *of* before the object (12.3(4)). We shall now after some examples of the *on*-construction pass on to the modern rules for the use of the expanded forms.

Verbs with ing, with or without on, a.

12.2(1). First I shall give some examples (many of them set phrases) in which other verbs than *be* are combined alternatively with *on* + *-ing*, *a* + *-ing* and finally the *ing*-form alone; the last-mentioned form might be considered the present participle if we did not know the older constructions. In all these cases, as also in *be (a)-ing*, the identity in form and the similarity in meaning evidently contributed greatly to the facility with which *a* was dropped—while in such a connexion as *he is abed*, *asleep*, *ashore*, etc., it would evidently be impossible in the same way to leave out *a*, which has etymologically the same origin.

burst out: Mal 726 she brast out on wepynge | ib 95 his mouth and nose brast out on bledynge || Spect 143 one of the ladies burst out a laughing | also Goldsm 650, Hunt A 68 | Fielding 1.491 she bursts out a crying | Di F 849 [Dickens himself:] he bursts out a-laughing (ib 866) | Thack N 46 I burst out a-laughing (also ib 69) ||

Thack P 1.172 he burst out laughing | Doyle S 6.74 we both broke out clapping.

fall: Lithgow (NED 1632) the fellow fell on trembling || Dekker G 55 to make other fools fall a laughing | Sh Sonn 20.10 nature as she wrought thee fell a dotinge | Hml II. 2.615 fall a cursing like a very drab | Merch II. 5.24 my nose fell a bleeding on blacke monday last | Spect 76 she fell a talking of the ghost | Swift J 118 I fell a scolding (constantly in Swift) | Defoe M 147 she fell a-laughing | Fielding T 4.209 Here he fell a singing and capering about the room | Bosw 1.157 he fell a scribbling in the World about it | Di Do 269 she fell a whimpering | Ru T 32 Whereupon I fell a thinking | Mered RF 4 she fell a-weeping | Dreiser F 318 still we fell a-quarreling || Mandev 87 there felle David preying to oure Lord | Wells V 106 she had fallen thinking of the events (frequent in Wells).

(*Of* probably represents *on*, *a* in Gammer 105 Hodge fell of swering.)

set: Sh Lucr 1494 a heauie hanging bell, Once set on ringing | Bacon A 36.21 to set also on going diverse motions | Di N 24 this appeal set the widow upon thinking that . . . || Dekker F 2336 my desires Are set a burning by loues purest fires | Sh Lucr 452 whose grim aspect sets eurie ioint a shaking | H4A II. 4.301, B II. 4.300 | Swift T 60 he would set them a roaring | Fielding T 4.19 the simplicity of Partridge set Jones a laughing | Sterne 223 he set all the household a dancing | Carlyle FR 239 tocsin [had been] set a-sounding | Thack N 354 it may have set our young man a-thinking | Kipl K 368 a narrative that set Shamlegh agasping | Wells H 465 a wild desire that set every nerve a quivering || Sh Hml III. 4.211 this man shall set me packing | Austen M 58 when love is once set going | Thack P 1.173 a wink of Foker's would set her off laughing | Tennyson 186 Blow, bugle, blow, set the wild echoes flying | Shaw 1.49 youve set my hands all trembling.

set out: Fielding 1.482 our beaux set out a wooing.

start: Doyle S 1.35 the thought that started me laughing | Bennett P 249 start the clock striking again.

send [in this sense, = set, start, i. e. cause to, not in NED]: Sh Gent III. 1.141 my thoughts . . . slaues they are to me, that send them flying | Stevenson M 235 I shall send him tramping | Hardy R 180 anything which would send me courting Thomasin again.

12.2(2). Other verbs: Congreve 129 I am to turn you a grazing | Defoe Rox 277 This gown or vest put the girl's tongue a-running again.

Get talking (e. g. Holmes A 112, Black Ph 350, Doyle S 5.148) is synonymous with *get to talk* ('begin to talk').

Begin: Di F 659 he begins a-creeping on his hands and knees | he begins talking (very common).

12.2(3). *Busy* is constructed with *in* + a verbal substantive, but now generally it takes *-ing* without any preposition; NED has from 1680: busie in providing a suitable entertainment, and from 1713: busy in finding out the art; cf. Swift J 369 he has been very busy in endeavouring to bring over some lords. The modern construction is seen in Di D 425 she was busy preparing breakfast.

Cf. the similar expressions in Tarkington MA 347 I hadn't any business interfering | Stevenson T 160 Silver had terrible hard work getting up the knoll | Mered E 298 he sets to work spinning a web.

12.2(4). Similarly with expressions denoting the time occupied by something, we find (1) *in* + ing, (2) *of* + ing, (3) *on* + ing, *a* + ing, (4) ing, for instance:

(1) Sterne 80 he was some time in making it | Scott Iv 296 Rebecca lost no time in causing the patient to be transported | Austen M 68 Mary was not long in accepting her share | Di D 460 we were a good while in getting to the Adelphi | Ru T 29 I am a long time in coming to the pantomime.

In a passive sense Burke Am 43 Ireland was five hundred years in subduing | Ru T 116 [the body] will take longer in the killing.

(2) Scott Lockh 579 they are seldom long of making it evident | Stevenson M 107 for you it [the time to die] has been long of coming.—Scotch? Wrong expansion of *o'* = 'on'?

(3) BJonson A 3.264 They are so long a furnishing | Swift J 503 so it [the letter] was long a coming | Defoe P 79 the plague was long a coming to our parish | Cf. also Sh Oth IV. 1.188 I would haue him nine yeeres a killing | Defoe R 85 never was a shovel so long a making.

(4) Marlowe H 2.93 Long was he taking leaue | Swift J 314 we were three hours disputing upon Whig and Tory | Defoe R 135 I was full two and forty days making me a board | ib 174 | Austen M 80 we are too long going over the house | Di T 1.191 You have been a long time coming.—On the contrary, I come direct.—Pardon me. I mean, not a long time on the journey; a long time intending the journey | Kipling J 1.124 he [a seal] was two weeks learning to use his flippers | ib 1.117 he would spend a month fighting with his companions | Ridge L 209 you girls do take a time doing half a minute's work.

12.2(5). After *catch*, as in *catch me doing it*, it is natural to suspect that the old phrase was *on (in) doing*, *a doing*, though I have only one quotation to support it: Defoe M 16 they shan't catch me a-kissing of you [NB *of*] || Swift 3.378 after many endeavours to catch me tripping in some part of my story | Quincey 298 he caught me once making too free with his throat | Scott A 2.54 naebody ever catched Edie sleeping | Di Do 65 whenever Mrs. Pipchin caught herself falling forward into the fire. Thus also in the passive: Thack P 2.329 be caught picking pockets.

Cf. also Kipl S 272 there's no sense risking men [= in r. m.] | he caught a cold sitting on the deck at night [= through s.] | he tears his trousers climbing trees.

12.2(6). After *go* (and other verbs of movement) it is true that we have an old, and perfectly natural, use of the participle in AR 344 ich am of dred leste I *go driuinde* oðerhwules . . . upe fole þouhtes; but in late ME and ModE combinations with *on (a)* and verbid substantive are extremely frequent:

NED 1290 wende an hontingue | Ch A 1687 on hunting be they riden royally | id Duch 355 they wolde on hunting goon | Towneley 121 to ryde on wowyng | Mandeville 207 none that gothe on beggynge || Ch R 6719 go a-begging (also 6726, but 6744 without *a*) | NED 1539 he that goeth a borrowynge, goeth a sorowynge | Eastw 477 she may go wisely a begging | Marlowe E 2445 weele ride a hunting in the parke | BJo A 2.21 goe a feasting | Sh Wiv III. 5.46 her husband goes this morning a birding | Shr III. 1.35 Lucentio comes a wooing | AV John 21.3 I goe a fishing | Otway 268 I am come a begging to you | Osborne 22 you had best come a woeing to her | Swift J 207 she is gone a visiting | Defoe Rox 316 My husband was very happily gone out a-hunting | Fielding 1.428 when she goes a visiting | Franklin 79 I never went out a fishing or shooting | Bosw 1.421 go a hunting . . . go a fishing | Di D 93 where does he go a begging? | Thack S 132 walk twenty yards a-shopping | Shaw Ms 34 The young man who comes a-courting is as familiar an incident in my life as coffee for breakfast | Locke GP 149 They went a-testing springs along the Portsmouth road. Thus also without *go*: BJo 1.8 you will not a hawking now.

Now the phrase *go (out) hunting* has superseded the old *go a hunting* (Storm EPh 787); cf. Shaw C 29 she had arranged to go riding with an English party | Benson D 68 Are you coming shooting? | Kaye Smith GA 129 he no longer felt any temptation to go roving . . . Not that Robert had ever consciously gone hunting adventure. Similarly with *take*: Thack (q) he took me out coursing and fowling.

Cf. with compound verbids: Sh Tp II. 1.185 go a bat-fowling | Defoe M 54 go a-fortune-hunting | Sheridan 347 we shall be shot here a fortune catching | Lamb E 1.76 since you went a salamander-gathering down Ætna | Farnol A 387 when the world goes a-holiday making || Caine C 275 I went district-nursing with aunt Rachel.

12.2(7). *Keep* (both transitive and intransitive) is also found with *a* + ing and with ing alone:

Dekker S 17 he keepes a puffing and a blowing | Sterne 31 the whole machine has been kept a-going | Di P 330 keep the pot a bilin' | Caine C 130 a jackdaw isn't to be called a religious bird because it keeps a-cawing on the steeple || Mi A 39 to keep a stock going upon that trade | Scott Iv 249 she kept murmuring to herself a Saxon rhyme | Shaw StJ 105 it [the song] keeps you marching.—Cf. also GE A 14 others chose to continue standing; note that *continue* may be either intransitive, with a predicative (*standing* participle), or else transitive, with an object (*standing* subst.); with the former compare *go on* (strongly stressed) *reading*, which should not be confounded together with the old *go on* (weakly stressed, *a*) *hunting.*

Be with on, a + ing.

12.3(1). We now come to the construction with *be*, which is the source, or one of the sources, of the expanded tenses. Examples with *on*:

NED (on) 1435 Whyle Torrent an huntyng wase | Mal 90 a knyght that had been on huntynge | NED 1548 the king being on hunting | Greene J4 383 your neighbours nigh, that haue on hunting beene || Sterne 18 preferment was o' ripening.

We also (though rarely) find *upon* with ing, see Storm EPh 789: Pepys: I am upon writing a little treatise | Richardson: I was just upon resolving to defy all the censures of the world.

Cf. with *in*: Ch G 684 Whyl this yeman was thus in his talking.

12.3(2). Examples with *a*:

NED 1523 They had ben a fyghtyng | Sh Wiv II. 3.92 I will bring thee where Mistris Anne Page is at a farm-house a feasting | ib IV. 2.8 Hee's a birding | Lr V. 3.274 I kill'd the slaue that was a hanging thee | AV Luke 9.42 as he was yet a comming | BJo A 3.408 we had been a shooting | Deloney 33 carders, who were merrily a working | Walton A 62 when I was last this way a fishing | ib 64 yonder they be both a milking again . . . I have been a fishing, and am going to Bleak Hall | Swift P 179 my wits are a wool-gathering to-day | Gay BP 10 What a dickens is the woman always a whimpering about murder for? | Defoe Rox 274 I thought I was a-breeding [i. e. with child] | id R 298 (frequent in Defoe) | Sheridan 352 he would always be a-preaching to her | Burns 2.247 The devil got notice that Grose was a-dying (cf. ib each bed-post with its burthen a-groaning) | Di P 295 They're alvays a doin' some gammon of that sort | ib 311 I'm a-goin' to tell you | ib 312 he laughs as hearty as if he was a goin' to pieces | id D 126 [Peggotty:] I'm a going, Davy, you see, to my brother's | ib 418 what are you a talking on? | Stevenson T 160 You ain't a-going to let me inside, cap'n? | Kaye Smith GA 69 Wot are you a-doing wud it? . . . I saw it a-lying there—I found it when I wur a-getting out my shirts | Mackenzie S 1.69 when the pansies were still a-blowing (thus extremely frequent in representation of vulgar speech, in Di, Thack and recent novelists like Stevenson, Kipling, etc.).

In the following sentences the form with *a* is not directly combined with *is*:

Sh LL III. 1.192 A woman that is like a Germane cloake [clock], Still a repairing: euer out of frame | BJo A 3.296 The Doctor is within, a mouing, for you | Bunyan P 31 there was one a rising out of bed.

According to EDG the combination with *a-* (*a-going*, etc.) is still in common use in Scotland and in the southern Midlands, but not in a broad belt between these two.

In the following quotation we have forms with and without *a* in close proximity: Defoe M 38 He was going to reply and had said . . . and was a-going to say more, but he heard his sister a-coming.

12.3(3). We have exactly similar constructions either with other verbs of being than *be*, or in combinations that imply being of some kind:

Dekker F 866 Twere a charitable deed to hang thee a smoking | Sh Tim I. 2.68 a dogge that seemes asleeping | BJo A 5.33 As I sate vp, a mending my wiues stockings | Mi Al 20 As he met her once a maying | Swift P 141 a man may eat this, tho' his wife lay a dying | Sheridan 349 I have a husband a-coming | Browning 1.518 And I've been three weeks shut within my mew A-painting for the great man.

Cf. also Defoe R 166 to be rescued from thieves just a going to murther them.

12.3(4). The comparatively frequent occurrence of *of* before the object of expanded tenses would also seem to point to their origin from the combination with *a* + ing, as the object after the sb in *ing* had *of* regularly:

[Gammer 95 [she] sat . . . patching of Hodg her mans brich; thus also Eastw 488] | Marlowe F 896 are you crossing of your selfe? | Lyly C 304 I had rather bee setting of a battell than blotting of a boord | Sh Ado IV. 3.10 as she was writing of it | Hml III. 3.85 Q_1 when he is purging of his soule [Q_2F in the purging of his soule] | Meas II. 2.1 Hee's hearing of a cause | BJo A 1.381 [I] am building Of a new shop | Bunyan G 10 she would be often telling of me, what a godly man her father was | Bunyan P 164 they were carrying of him back to the door (frequent in Bunyan) | Di Do 452 (vg) what are you doing of! | Di D 676 (vg) I have a long time been expecting of her | Shaw P 219 youre busy hexpectin o Sr Ahrd [= Sir Howard] | James S 20 he must be making of the whole thing, while we sit here gossiping | Kipl B 4 they are marchin' of 'im round | ib 63 's waitin' of 'is orders.

The same construction with *of* before the object is also extended to the participle in other connexions.

Frequency of Expanded Tenses.

12.4(1). In the modern period the use of the expanded tenses has been constantly gaining ground, and this may be considered one of the points in which the language has gained in nice distinctions and logical precision. The extent to which the language has changed in this respect may be gauged by the comparison which I once asked one of my pupils to make between the Gospel of St. Mark in the AV and in the Twentieth Century Version: while 28 cases of expanded tenses were common to both, the latter had 78 expanded tenses, where the AV had simple tenses, while there was only one case in which the AV had an expanded and the new version a simple tense. The total figures were thus 29 and 106, respectively.

12.4(2). I may here also call attention to the important fact that the increasing use of the expanded tenses serves to bring about the most favourable word-order in interrogative and negative sentences: in the former an auxiliary verb before the subject (thus the ordinary order in questions) and yet the subject as usual before the significative verb, in the latter *not* before the real verb: *is he working?* | *what is he working at?* | *he is not working*; cf. what was said in 4.2(5) on *have got.*

12.4(3). Let me give a few examples of the old use of the simple tenses, where now the expanded forms would be used.

Sh Hml II. 2.194 Polonius asks: What do you read my Lord? . . . I meane the matter that you reade my Lord; cf. a little further down: you goe to seeke my Lord Hamlet; there hee is [which now would be: you are looking for . . .] | Alls I. 1.27 How call'd you the man you speake of, madam? | ib 35 What is it (my good lord) the king languishes of? | Swift J 115 Sir A. F., who mends much [= is recovering] | Goldsm 647 how goes on your own affair? [now: is . . . going on].

Use of the Expanded Tenses.

12.5(1). What exactly is the meaning of the expanded tenses, when, how and why are they used, and what is the difference between them and the simple tenses? The following chapters are essentially identical with what I wrote in 1914[1], apart, of course, from verbal changes here and there and various additional remarks and illustrations. At the end of my exposition I shall add some criticism of the views of other scholars.

It is often said that the expanded tenses indicate duration of the action or state denoted by the verb. But in this form the assertion evidently is not correct. We have the simple forms in sentences like: the world has stood for millions of years | the Roman Empire lasted many hundred years | Methuselah lived to be more than nine hundred and sixty years old, etc. On the other hand we have the expanded forms implying very short duration as in: he was raising his hand to strike her, when . . . | the next moment he was opening the door | He spent the whole of that year with his uncle. One evening he was quietly smoking . . . It is true that the notion of shorter or longer duration enters into the theory of the expanded forms, but not in this crude manner.

12.5(2). In my view we shall obtain a definition which holds good in the majority of cases if we start from the *on -ing* construction: *he is (was) on* (= *in*, as so often in former times) *hunting* means 'he is (was) in the course of hunting, engaged in hunting, busy (with) hunting'; he is (was) as it were in the middle of something, some protracted action or state, denoted by the substantive *hunting*. The hunting is felt to be a kind of frame round something else; it is represented as lasting some time before and possibly (or probably) also some time after something else, which may or may not be expressly indicated, but which is always in the mind of the speaker. In this way the hunting is thought of as being of *relatively longer duration in comparison with some other fact* (some happening or state, or simply some period or point of time). If we say *he was (on) hunting*, we mean that the hunting (which may be completed now) had begun, but was not completed at the time mentioned or implied in the sentence, and this element of incompletion (at that time) is very important if we want to understand the expanded tenses, even if it is not equally manifest in all cases. But it should be noted that it is not exactly the period of time that is incomplete, but the action or state indicated by the verb itself. We shall see this when we come to speak of the expanded perfect (below 13.2).

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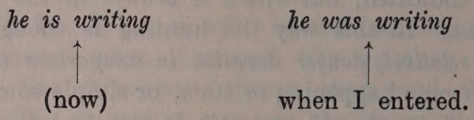
[1] At, or immediately after, the time when I brought out my paper *Tid og tempus* (Oversigt over det kgl. danske videnskabernes selskabs forhandlinger. 1914. 367—420).

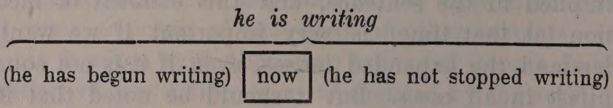
12.5(3). The expanded tenses often correspond to phrases of similar import or origin in other languages, e. g. G. *er war im begriff sich zu rasieren*, Dan. *han var ifærd med at barbere sig (i begreb med at)*, Fr. *il était à se raser quand est entré son beau-frère.* In Fr. very often the imparfait corresponds to E. *was -ing*, but in other tenses and indeed in the great majority of cases there is nothing in the languages mentioned corresponding to the E. distinction of the two sets of tenses. Cf. PG 280 on partial parallels in Danish, Spanish, Russian, and Finnish; Nordling, in *Festskrift til F. Jónsson* 1929, p. 399 mentions Icelandic *hann var at telja* and compares Lat. *legē-bam*, as containing the verb *be*. The nearest approach to the English expanded tenses is found in Spanish, cf. *está comiendo* 'is dining', *come á las siete* 'dines at seven'.

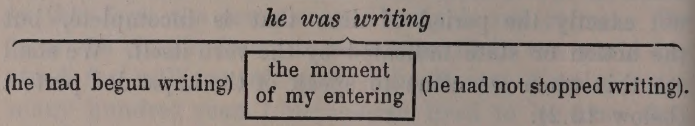
Compare the following more explicit expressions in E.: Austen M 355 the door was in constant banging | Bennett LR 33 Andy's cigar was in process of being masticated | id Acc 78 He was in process of getting acquainted with her | Chesterton F 11 On this great Valentin's ideas were still in process of settlement.

12.5(4). If, then, we speak of a relatively long and a relatively short time, we may represent the relation between them in diagrams like the following:



But as the terms longer and shorter time are liable to misunderstanding, things will perhaps be clearer if we give the following diagrams:





The essential thing is that the action or state denoted by the expanded tense is thought of as *a temporal frame encompassing something else* which as often as not is to be understood from the whole situation. The expanded tenses therefore call the attention more specially to time than the simple tenses, which speak of nothing but the action or state itself.

12.5(5). The use of the expanded forms often gives a certain emotional colouring to a sentence. This may be partly explained from the mere physical length of the linguistic expression as compared with the simple tenses; cp. the effect of lengthening of words in some cases, especially in slang (*splendidious*, *splendiferous* for *splendid*; further examples *Language*, p. 403). But the chief explanation must be sought in the logical import of the expanded forms: *you're always finding fault with me* implies "and you may go on (or will probably go on) finding fault" and thus gives vent to a natural irritability | *She's always harping on that string* | *Now, that boy is again whistling his infernal melodies.* Other examples, see 13.1(4), 13.2(8), 13.5(5).

This emotional colouring is noticed by Onions § 134 c, but only with examples of the perfect: "*What have you been doing to that picture?* | *Someone has been tampering with this lock* . . . express surprise, disgust, impatience or the like." This point of view is specially emphasized by J. van der Laan, *An Enquiry on a Psychological Basis into the Use of the Progressive Form* (Gorinchem 1922) passim.

Expanded Present and Preterit.

12.6(1). With the expanded present tense the 'shorter time' is generally *now*, but this adverb is very often understood. With the expanded preterit the 'shorter time' is very often indicated by means of a subjunct (a clause in *when I entered*; the adverb *still* in Di D 133 seeing that we were looking at her still, she ran away). It is grammatically immaterial whether the longer or the shorter time is placed in a subordinate clause: he was breakfasting when I entered | I entered while he was breakfasting. In the frequent phrase "as I was saying", by which a previous remark is resumed, the shorter time is easily understood ('when we were interrupted'), and the idea is: I had not at the time finished what I wanted to say. Examples:

Hope D 52 As I was saying, I should if I were you, treat him as he has treated you | Wilde D 103 But, as I was saying, you must not think I have not suffered.

On the other hand, the adverb *now* may be used with the simple present, (1) when a habit is indicated: now he sees nobody | the train starts now at 8.30 (last year at 8.35) | now she sings beautifully [= she has acquired the art]—different from "now she is singing beautifully" [said in the middle of listening to her]; cp. also *now . . . now* = 'at different times': now he shakes his head, and now he points his finger . . . (2) with the verbs that cannot, or do not often, take the expanded form: now I can tell you all about it | now I know you | he loves Jane now (but last year he loved Mary); cf. also: now I see what you are driving at, (3) when *now* has lost its temporal meaning: Now, I call that talking!

In Hawth Sn 55 Within the door you discern the wife . . . She is singing, doubtless, a psalm tune at her household work, or perhaps she sighs at the remembrance— *is singing* is meant as a general description of the situation, and *sighs* as the statement of a single act.

The expanded tenses may be used in speaking of habitual occurrences, if the 'framing' is repeated each time: *I am (was) writing every morning at the time when he usually comes (came).*

12.6(2). When the preterit is a back-shifted present (in indirect speech), no indication of time is necessary:

He sent down word that he was suffering from a bad headache = he said, "I am [now] suffering . . ." | Goldsm V 2.86 he came to tell us that two strangers were making towards the house.

12.6(3). The expanded preterit is very often used in a connected narrative to indicate the general situation which serves as frame or setting to what follows; for instance in the beginning of a story:

Merrick MG 1 There were three women in the dressing-room. Little Miss Macy . . . was pulling off her uniform; and the "Duchess" . . . stood brushing the powder out of her hair. The third woman was doing nothing . . . she sat regarding the others.

Both kinds of tenses occur together in a characteristic way in

Di D 44 After dinner, when we were sitting by the fire, and I was meditating an escape to Peggotty . . ., a coach drove up to the garden-gate, and he went out to receive the visitor. My mother followed him. I was timidly following her, when she turned round at the parlour-door, in the dusk, and . . . whispered me to love my new father . . . She did this hurriedly; and, putting out her hand behind her, held mine in it, until we came near where he was standing in the garden, where she let mine go, and drew hers through his arm.—Here we must especially note the difference between "she followed him" (new fact) and "I was following her", the latter being really the 'longer time' as a frame to her turning round (new fact).

12.6(4). Thus the simple tenses serve to carry a narrative rapidly on, while the expanded tenses have a retarding effect: Di D 126 Peggotty, said I, one evening, when I was warming my hands at the kitchen fire . . . But a little further down we have the warming of David's hands as a new fact told as something that happened afterwards: Peggotty said nothing for a little while; and I warmed my hands, as silent as she. "Davy", she said at length.

12.6(5). The expanded preterit is found in a very characteristic way with words like *soon after* or *next moment*, pointing the contrast to (or the distance from) the previously mentioned time; the expansion emphasizes the notion of 'already' (was already then engaged in, had then already begun to); cf. the French use of the imparfait in cases like *deux ans après il mourait dans son château* (not *mourut*: a rule that is apt to puzzle beginners).

Austen (q) the next moment she was tapping at her husband's dressing room | Masefield M 22 In another minute they were standing in the glare of the Circus | Kennedy R 45 Where's Mr. Luttrell? he heard her ask. In a moment she was greeting him | Maxwell F 105 Three days later he was having tea with her at Claridge's | Strachey EV 20 Manning shook off his early Evangelical considerations, started an active correspondence with Newman, and was soon working for the new cause | Maxwell WF 39 Next minute they were having their first quarrel.

The subjunct *by this time* is generally combined with the expanded form: Stevenson T 188 By this time the schooner and her little consort were gliding swiftly through the water.

12.6(6). The following are typical examples of 'frame'-time:

Goldsm V 1.14 he was at that time actually courting a fourth wife | Di D 134 she stole home another way, and was laughing at the door when I came back | Wells H 57 He glanced at Lady Harman, but she was looking back with the naïve anxiety of a hostess to her cypress | ib 235 Snagsby lied. But Sir Isaac was able to tell from the agitated way in which he was cleaning his perfectly clean silver that the wretched man was lying.

12.6(7). In the following sentences the frame is in a curious way implied in the word *know*:

Boswell asks (1.359): Does not Rousseau talk such nonsense? . . . and Dr. Johnson answers: True, Sir; but Rousseau knows he is talking nonsense . . . Why, Sir, a man who talks nonsense so well must know that he is talking nonsense | Walpole C 233 She laughed until the tears poured down her cheeks . . . She knew that she was laughing with shrill high cries | Bennett L 156 Half the room gazed at her, for she had attracted attention from the first. She knew that half the room was gazing at her, and she liked it. She guessed that half the room was saying: Look at . . . | Aumonier OB 232 During those days she worked hard, for John Brayle always wanted to know what she was working at | Lewis B 104 When I buy an Ingersoll or a Ford, I get a better tool for less money, and I know precisely what I'm getting | Priestley G 219 Inigo ate this and that but he hardly knew what he was eating || Cp. with *think* Beresford Mount. Moon 85 It's all new to me and I haven't got the key. I guess, and think I'm guessing right, and then I'm upset by some trivial thing that puts me all wrong again.

12.7(1). The contrast between a new fact and something that had already begun some time before and was still going on, is seen in the following quotations, where the same verb is used in both ways:

Trollope Aut 20 But she raved also of him of whom all such ladies were raving then | Kipling J 2.56 Up and out! cried Purun. The hill falls! the hill is falling! [= is actually this moment falling] | Wells V 192 her head swam. That was the inconvenience of it; her head was swimming | Bennett L 148 She wanted to turn her head . . . but she dared not . . . she was blushing . . . Yet she was blushing. She blushed because of the dreams she had once had concerning him | Birmingham Regan 174 Mrs. Gregg looked at Mary again as she spoke, looked at her very carefully and then smiled. Mary was also smiling | Walpole DF 92 I had noticed at once that her voice trembled; now I perceived that her whole body was shaking | Maxwell G 276 when he died I wept for him, but I was weeping for ten thousand others who had died too | Lowndes Ivy 23 I will not tell you what I see, for what I am seeing may not concern you at all.

12.7(2). A contrast between what is completed, and what is not, is seen in the following sentences, which should be compared with those printed in III. 16.8$_6$ and above 7.5(4):

Wordsw P 4.142 the sun was set, or setting, when I left | de Quincey 400 generations that are passing or passed, that are fading or faded, that are dying or buried | Carlyle F 3.75 Mill seemed to me to be withering or withered into the miserablest metaphysical scrae | [Tenn 548 a grain which cleft and cleft again for evermore, And ever vanishing, never vanishes].

Cp. the contrast between the future and present time in Galsw SS 65 They gave thanks not for what he was about to receive, but for what he was receiving.

"She aged rapidly" would simply state a fact, but in Gissing O 15 "from certain points of view her countenance still had a grace, a sweetness, all the more noticeable because of its threatened extinction. For she was rapidly ageing"—the last sentence describes the situation which serves to explain the preceding remark.

12.7(3). Not infrequently a contrast between habitual and actual doing at the one particular moment spoken of may be brought out by means of the simple and expanded tenses. "What do you do for a living? I write novels" refers to the whole of the man's life, while "What are you doing for a living? I am writing novels" refers to the present time, including the immediate past and (presumably) some part of the future: I began writing novels some time ago, and have not yet given it up. Western quotes from one of Shelley's letters: "Byron is now quite reformed, and is leading a most sober and decent life"—the implication is obvious.

Cp. also the following quotations: Wells V 217 Do you go through the Park?—Not usually. But I'm going to-day | London V 133 he is night watchman in the yards and sleeps of mornings. He's sleeping now.

12.7(4). Thus also in the preterit:

Brontë V 318 The girls and teachers, gathered round the other table, were talking pretty freely: they always talked at meals | Caine C 67 A great awe seemed to have fallen upon her, and she was behaving as she behaved in church | Maxwell EG 60 Did he say this to everybody, or was he saying it to her specially? | it was freezing as it only freezes in March.

12.7(5). There are cases, however, in which it is not easy to see the reasons that have made a writer alternate between simple and expanded tenses: sometimes a simple tense may be chosen to avoid a heavy repetition of the more pedantic long forms:

Stevenson T 35 The fog was rapidly dispersing; already the moon shone quite clear on the high ground on either side | Norris P 296 It seemed to him that very far off a great throng was forming. It was menacing, shouting. It stirred, it moved, it was advancing . . . Its clamour was deafening but intelligible. For a thousand voices were shouting in cadence "Wheat—wheat—wheat" [*menacing*, *deafening* are nearly adjectival] | Sutro F 16 What I'm wondering is—you see, you're the only lover I've had—what I wonder is, when a man breaks off, does he always abuse the woman? | Galsw P 12.68 Why do you smile?—Was I [= was I smiling], madam?—You know you were | id F 374 His eyes! . . . They were seeing—surely they saw | Mackenzie C 341 Jenny began to think she was doomed to settle down . . . She was beginning to be aware how easy it was for a woman to belie the temperament of her youth | Tarkington MA 488 "Well—I wondered"—Kinney hesitated. "I was wondering why you hadn't thought of finding something for him" | Mason Witn. f. Defence 69 Was Ballantyne speaking the truth or did he speak in fear?

12.8. Thack S (p.?) If I should go to one of the tea-parties in a dressing-gown and slippers, I should be insulting society, and eating peas with my knife. Here the expanded form implies *identity of the two acts* (cf. "going to . . . would be insulting society"); if he had said "I should insult society" the insult would be something independent of the unfashionable dress. Cf. also

Ward in his ed. of Marlowe F 116: when a sorcerer meets a horse-dealer, Greek is meeting Greek | In so doing he is defending his own position | Milne P 10 A rich man, who spends his money thoughtfully, is serving his country as nobly as anybody | Bromfield GW 256 If I give him up, I'll be giving up a great opportunity [= it will mean giving up . . .] | if I said that, I shouldn't be telling the truth.

Simultaneousness.

12.9(1). In clauses commencing with *while*, *whilst*, *as*, indicating the more extensive time of a state or a series of actions interrupted by the action of the main verb, we should naturally expect the expanded tenses, and very often do find them as in:

More U 25 Upon a certeyne daye as I was herynge the deuyne seruice . . . and when the deuyne was done, was readye to goo . . . I chaunced to espye Peter | Greene J4 388 Whilst they are dauncing, Andrew takes away his money | ib 413 By chance as I was hunting in the woods, I heard the moane | Sh H4A II. 4.200 As we were sharing, some sixe or seuen fresh men set vpon vs | AV Job 1.18 While he was yet speaking, there came also another and said, Thy sonnes, and thy daughters, were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brothers house | Goldsm V 2.78 as she was concluding the last stanza, the appearance of Mr. Thornhill's equipage alarmed us all | Di D 129 As we were going along, she asked me what he had said | Benson A 378 all the time that I was trying to get his love I was only poisoning my own.

Many of the ME examples quoted by Åkerlund p. 40—42 are in clauses beginning with *as* or *while.*

12.9(2). But on the other hand the simple tenses are often used. This must be considered an instance of the economy of speech found in other cases as well (e. g. the tenses with *after* 2.3(3), 2.6(1), 5.6(1)): the conjunction in itself indicates this time-relation which therefore need not be expressly stated by the tense-form of the verb. This is very clear in

Quiller-Couch M 60 He was considering; but while he considered, his companion stepped ashore | Hardy R 85 he was darning a stocking . . . as he darned he smoked a pipe | Phillpotts GR 45 he wondered while he worried that he should be worrying.

Other examples: Di D 128 as we drew near to the end of our journey, he had more to do | ib 132 as we sat round the fire after tea, an allusion was made to the loss | Gissing O 3 "So to-morrow", said Dr Madden, as he walked with his eldest daughter . . . | London M 127 He read, and as he read he watched her.

In Stevenson M 277 "you can tell me the story while we eat" the simple *eat* shows that both the telling and the eating are to go on in the future; "while we are eating" would imply the present, the eating having already begun at the time of speaking.

12.9(3). When *while* expresses contrast rather than time, the usual rules for the employment of the forms are observed:

Goldsm 619 while he is giving away places to all the world, he can't get one for himself | London W 13 Henry went about preparing breakfast, while Bill rolled the blankets and made the sled ready | While he writes (wrote) charmingly, he is (was) not always truthful.

12.9(4). When two actions or states are *co-extensive* (have equal duration), we may have expanded tenses in both sentences, as either action may be considered the 'frame' of the other, but this is not necessary, and for reasons of economy simple tenses may be found in one or even in both sentences:

Sterne 60 Whilst my uncle Toby was whistling Lillibullero to my father, Dr. Slop was stamping, and cursing and damning at Obadiah at a most dreadful rate | Goldsm 262 the English may now properly be said to be engaged in war; since, while they are subduing their enemies abroad, they are breaking each other's heads at home | Thack N 3 While this conversation was going on, the ox was chumping the grass; the frog was eyeing him . . . the little lambkin was lying unsuspiciously . . . | Collins W 6 while the old lady was laughing heartily over the boyish manner in which we tumbled into the parlour, Sarah was perturbedly picking up the broken pieces of a tea-cup | ib 156 While he was maundering on in this way I was, fortunately for my own self-respect, returning to my senses | Lewis MA 421 he was aware that while he had been chattering with Joyce, Leora had been dying | All the time he was addressing them in this way, he was secretly looking out for some means of escaping || Galsw F 324 And while she was speaking thus she watched

Kirsteen | Wells TM 57 All the time I ran I was saying to myself, 'They have moved it a little'.

12.9(5). The fact that two things always happen at the same time, may be expressed by means of the expanded tenses of both verbs:

Fielding T 4.65 When children are doing nothing, they are doing mischief | Hardy R 238 when Yeobright was not with Eustasia he was sitting slavishly over his books; when he was not reading he was meeting her | Every morning when he was having his breakfast his dog was staring at him | He could not be idle. If he was not working, he was walking.

12.9(6). But if one of the two habitual facts is regarded as the frame of the other, only one of the verbs is put in the expanded tense:

(a) Mackenzie SA 194 We're both growing old. I tell you I realize it more and more when I'm playing golf | Bennett RS 55 nobody knew how Dr. Raste talked and looked when he was not talking and looking professionally | id L 25 Miss Jackson's only alive, really, when she's typing. She types with her whole soul | Dreiser AT 1.304 He looked at her repeatedly when she was not looking | Every morning when he was having his breakfast his wife asked him for money.

(b) Wells JP 443 Whenever Joan glanced at them they seemed to be looking at her | Rose Macaulay P 47 Whenever I looked up he was looking | Benson D2 28 When he was moving, he moved with a boy's quickness; when he sat still he sat with the steadiness of strong maturity | NP '21 Browning knew what he was talking about when he talked of poetry.

Cf. Palmer Gr § 595: Whenever I see him, he's quarrelling with somebody | whenever I see him, he quarrels with somebody—would mean that he started quarrelling on my arrival.

Chapter XIII.

Expanded Tenses. Continued.

With always, etc.

13.1(1). Subjuncts like *always, ever, constantly, all day long, all that afternoon,* etc., are very often combined with expanded tenses, and it is not always easy to apply the rule of 'frame-time' to them. Now it is noticeable that these combinations were particularly frequent in ME, i. e. before the expanded tenses came to be swelled by the *on (a-)* + *ing* constructions. It is also worth pointing out that in these combinations *always* does not mean 'at all times in the history of the world' (as in "the sun always rises in the east"), but 'at all the times we are just now concerned with', and thus connects the action with what we are now talking about; in this way a resemblance to the usual employment of the expanded tenses is brought about. "He is always doing that" may generally be paraphrased 'he is continually beginning that again'.

Examples: Ch A 92 singinge he was, or flowtinge, al the day | Ch B 1217 a monk, That ever in oon was drawing to that place | Roister 12 All the day long is he facing and craking Of his great actes | North 241 Doson who was euer promising, and neuer giuing | Sh Meas I. 2.53 Thou art alwayes figuring diseases in me | Sh Sonn 76.13 For as the sun is daily new and old, So is my loue still [= always] telling what is told | Di D 163 until something turns up (which I am, I may say, hourly expecting) | Hardy R 242 you are always thinking of that | Angell I 39 those curious contradictions we are frequently meeting in the development of ideas | Shaw 2.27 [the English]: their climate makes them so dirty that they have to be perpetually washing themselves | Mackenzie C 37 ink that was every day losing more and more of its ancient blackness.

13.1(2). But the simple tenses may also be used with these subjuncts, e. g. Sh Gent II. 4.31 you alwaies end ere you begin.

Simple and expanded tenses are found side by side in Wilde S 12 I am always saying what I shouldn't say; in fact, I usually say what I really think | Maxwell G 89 He is always thinking about other people. He never thinks of himself | Maugham TL 49 when you're doing one thing you always want to do another | NP '26 [De Quincey] The truth was that he dreamed—he was always dreaming | Milne P 5 He's always asking my advice about things—he doesn't take it, of course, but still he asks it.

13.1(3). Sometimes a distinction may be made. Mason R 88 *She always dreams of running water* = 'whenever she dreams, it is of r. w.'. *When she is in Paris, she always reads Le Temps* = 'the only paper she reads is Le T.'. *She is always dreaming of r. w., she is always reading Le T.* would mean that she was always occupied in dreaming and reading, respectively. *Smokers always drink* = all smokers are drinkers; *smokers are always drinking* would imply that that they were constantly so occupied. *He always sleeps in the afternoon* (i. e. part of the afternoon); *he is always sleeping in the afternoon* (i. e. the whole of the afternoon). *She is always speaking of her fine family*—but Brontë V 214 She tells me that they are poor at home; *she always speaks candidly on such points.*

13.1(4). The combination of an expanded tense with *always* and its synonyms very often gives an emotional colouring to the sentence (12.5(5)):

He is always (constantly) laughing at everything | you're always finding fault with me.

In Kingsley H 51 *you are always giving me presents* there is a kind of mild reproach: why are you giving me a present on this occasion though you have done so very often before?

Other examples: Mi A 53 were it not the chief strong hold of our hypocrisie to be ever judging one another |

Gay BP 165 Since women will be always talking [*will* is also emotional] | Austen P 460 What can he mean by being always so tiresome as to be always coming here | ib 460 she was really vexed that her mother should be always giving him such an epithet | Thack P 900 Why was she always having letters from abroad? [he asked in irritation] | Kinglake E 109 and accordingly these monks inquire—they are always inquiring—inquiring for 'news'!

Expanded Perfect (and Pluperfect).

13.2(1). The various modes of using these tenses can be explained from the general definition given above. The element of (relatively) longer time is at bottom of the meaning of incompletion which is so frequent with the expanded perfect: in *he has collected much evidence against her* nothing is said about the time when he collected it, the only thing said being that the act of collecting is finished at the present moment; in *he has been collecting evidence against her*, on the other hand, we understand that the collecting began some time before, and may be continued some time after, the present moment; therefore the implication is that it is recently that this collection has taken place. We shall now discuss various points more in detail.

13.2(2). In the first place, the expanded perfect is extremely frequent with subjuncts like *all this day*, which indicate a period that is not yet finished at the time of speaking. The action or state indicated by the verb may, or may not, have stopped, but it must at any rate have been of a durative character:

Ch A 929 we han ben waytinge al this fourtenight | Lyly C 307 he hath found Dedalus old waxen wings, and hath beene peecing them this moneth | Marlowe F 1144 I haue beene al this day seeking one maister Fustian | Sh Meas IV. 3.46 I haue bin drinking all night | Goldsm 657 what soft things are you saying to your cousin Constance this evening?—I have been saying no soft things |

ib 670 [they] have been laughing at Mr. Marlow's mistake this half hour | Keats 5.39 all that time I have been day by day expecting letters from you | Austen M 251 I have been talking incessantly all night | Peacock M 9 Elphin had been all the morning fishing in the Mawddach | Hankin 1.47 What have you been doing all this time?

13.2(3). This cannot be separated from the following instances of inclusive time:

Ch PF 472 he that hath ben languishing Thise twenty winter | Johnson R 89 I have been long comparing the evils with the advantages | Goldsm V 1.105 I have been for some time looking out for another [companion] | Austen M 55 I have been long wishing to wait upon your mother | ib 56 an uncle with whom she has been living so many years | Hawthorne Sn 67 ever since sunrise he has been standing on the steps | Hankin 2.42 How long has Mr. H. been preaching in this absurd way?

Palmer, Gr 154, gives the two sentences: *he hasn't been speaking since three o'clock* (but only since half past three)—*he hasn't spoken since three o'clock* (= he's been silent since three o'clock).—The explanation (which Palmer does not give) seems to be, that in the first sentence the negative belongs to the time-indication (he is speaking and has been speaking, though not from three o'clock till now); in the second sentence the negation refers to the speaking itself.

13.2(4). Next, the expanded perfect is used without any indication of duration, but the implication is 're-cently, just now'. Thus, when Darwin writes in a letter (June 1860) "I have been making some little trifling observations which have interested and perplexed me much", he means "recently". Had he written, "I have made", he would have been understood as referring to his whole previous life. Similarly in Austen S 162 I had the pleasure of hearing it at Mr. Palmer's, where I have been dining. Here, the implication is "to-day", and "I have dined" would hardly give any sense (unless accompanied by "frequently" or some such adverb). In most of the following examples the adverb *just* might have been added without modifying the sense of the sentence.

Sh Oth III. 3.42 I haue bin talking with a suitor heere | Sh R2 V. 5.1 I haue bin studying, how to compare This prison where I liue, vnto the world | Goldsm 616 I have been seeking you. My friend Honeywood here has been saying such comfortable things | Boswell 2.74 A man who has been drinking wine at all freely, should never go into a new company | Kingsley H 52 I wonder whether the old lady has been getting into a scrape, and wants my patronage to help her out of it | Wilde D 183 All during this wonderful May that we have been having, I used to run down and see her [may be said towards the end of May, or in the beginning of June] | Shaw 2.142 You dont mean to say youve been drinking champagne? | Galsw IC 85 Who's been seeing her? | Bennett T 441 I've had a sleep.—What?—I've been having a sleep | id LR 52 That's why we haven't been hearing from Geoffrey | Mackenzie C 192 It's a terrible night . . . Shame after the glorious weather we've been having | Walpole Cp 119 She's been having rather a dull time here, I'm afraid.

Note the familiar expression *he has been drinking* with its two implications, that the drink has been "stronger than water", and that the drinking has taken place quite recently, so that the effect may still be working. Literary examples (of the pluperfect): Defoe M 204 it was plain still that he had been drinking, though very far from what we call being in drink | Walpole Cp 81 When he was excited the colour ran into his nose as though he had been drinking | London V 139 Saxon knew that the old woman had been drinking | Rogers Wine of Fury 287 I couldn't make out what was the matter with her. I thought at first that she had been drinking.

13.2(5). In a third employment of the expanded perfect there is a distinct implication that the action itself is not yet completed (compare for the present tense

12.7(2)). Thus in Shelley's letter (L 749) *I have been reading Calderon without you. I have read the "Cisma de Ingalaterra", the "Cabellos de Absolom", and three or four others*, he means that he has not read the whole of Calderon, but that he has read completely the plays specified.

So also: Carlyle in Tenn L 1.247 I have just been reading your poems; I have read certain of them over again.

It would be impossible to use the perfect of a transitive verb without an object (I have read). But the expanded perfect may very well stand alone, because of the idea of incompletion attached to it: *I have been reading* (all afternoon) (cf. *drinking* 13.2(4)). This applies only to the perfect, for in the (habitual) present and future the unexpanded verb may be used without an object: I generally read in the afternoon | when I was at Oxford, I always read in the afternoon | next winter I shall read every afternoon.

The expanded perfect is, of course, excluded when the final result is thought of, as in Goldsm V 1.210 poverty has brought not only want, but infamy upon us.

13.2(6). This leads us to expressions for the attempted or ineffectual action:

Goldsm 654 I have been for some time persuading my aunt to let me wear them [jewels]. I fancy I'm very near succeeding | Butler Er 81 he has not heard what you have been saying now | Wells JP 247 Mr. S. lands at Southampton to-night.—He has always been coming.—This time he has come. (Cf. on *come* 14.1.)

13.2(7). The expanded perfect may be used of repeated actions: *Where have you been meeting them?*—different from *Where did you meet them?* (Note here the preterit). *How have you been spending the money?* implies that the money has been spent gradually, not all at once.

13.2(8). The expanded perfect is often used with an emotional colouring, cf. 12.5(5): *What have you been* *doing* (all this time)? is often said in impatience and so as to imply that the other person has been doing something that he ought not | *I suppose you have been telling tales again* (the implication is: as you may be expected to do in the future, too).

I see that you have again been tampering with the clock | Di P 347 her confounded little bill. How long has it been running? | Maxwell WF 95 Charles! Have I been neglecting you? How horrid of me!

13.2(9). The expanded perfect infinitive is used in the same ways as the indicative.

Harraden S 18 I am tired of reading. I seem to have been reading all my life.

Mi A 15 Plautus whom he confesses to have bin reading not long before | Mason F 287 he spoke in his usual hard voice. He might have been speaking of a stranger.

The expanded perfect participle refers to what has recently taken place, in Thack N 361 Having been abusing Clive extravagantly, Barnes must needs hang his head when the young fellow came in.

Expanded Pluperfect.

13.3. The expanded pluperfect is used correspondingly in different ways:

(1) Ward M 195 What had Kitty indeed been doing with herself this six weeks? | Brontë V 124 Now the bell had been ringing all the morning.

(2) Indicating some period not far remote from the time of the other action (mentioned or implied); examples with *drinking* above 13.2(4).

Goldsm V 1.145 one of our little boys, who had been playing abroad, brought in a letter-case, which he found on the green | Austen M 312 I knew he had been talking to you | ib 375 not considering in how different a circle she had been just seeing him | ib 254 Mr C. had been sitting by her long enough | Thack N 827 the shares had been going lower and lower, so that there was no sale for them at all | Hope R 41 he had been smoking a cigarette; now he threw the end of it into the grate and rose from the bed where he had been sitting | Ward M 193 Meanwhile the man whose affairs they had been discussing walked home | Lawrence L 118 Banford's eyes were red, she had evidently been crying.

(3) Denoting incompletion:

Goldsm V 1.5 my wife, who during her pregnancy had been reading romances, insisted upon her being called Olivia | Wordsw P 5.140 I saw the book, In [NB] which I had been reading, at my side.

(4) Repeated action: Maxwell BY 6 He had first proposed to her when she wore an ugly pigtail, and off and on he had been proposing ever since.

The pluperfect may, of course, also be a backshifted perfect in indirect speech: Defoe R 44 they told me they had been musing very much upon what I had discoursed with them of.

Expanded Infinitive and Imperative.

13.4(1). In the infinitive, the expanded form very often corresponds exactly to the expanded present and preterit of the indicative; thus in

Gammer 151 What deuil nede he be groping [= he is groping, but why?] | Swift J 29 Very pretty that I must be writing to young women in a morning fresh and fasting [= I am writing] | Hawthorne Sn 76 while we supposed the old man to be reading the Bible to his wife [= supposed that he was reading], the pair of hoary reprobates have whisked up the chimney | Caine C 25 that is what most young men seem to be doing now-a-days [= are doing, it seems] | Maxwell WF 205 The young girls in all classes of society seem to be marrying soldiers on leave | Priestley B 180 What he really wants is not to be wanting somebody, d'you see?

Thus also with *always*, etc. (13.1):

Spect 144 it is ill-bred to be always calling Mother | Austen M 148 you must not be always walking from one room to the other | Di P 224 he couldn't read in the evening: he got nervous and uncomfortable, and used to be always snuffing his candles | Mackenzie C 11 he seemed always to be either washing his hands or wiping his boots.

13.4(2). With such verbs as *can*, *ought to*, the expanded infinitive thus gives a means of denoting precisely "on the present occasion": *what can he do?* refers to all times, *what can he be doing?* (e. g. Goldsm 635) to the actual moment. Cf. also

Wells Am 125 these working children cannot be learning to read—though they will presently be having votes | Caine C 181 I ought to be kissing the feet of everybody in the house [*to be now k.*, more precise than: *to kiss*, which might be done at some future time] | Austen M 196 I do beseech you not to be putting yourself forward [*not to put* would be a more general advice].

13.4(3). Similarly with *must*:

You must read Hamlet (some day) | you must be reading Hamlet [I infer from your frequent quotations that you are reading H. now] | Austen M 302 they sat so much longer than usual in the dining-parlour, that she was sure they must be talking of her. Another use of *must be -ing* see 13.4(6).

On the meaning of *may* with the simple infinitive see 7.2(3, 4); *he may be reading it* = 'is perhaps now engaged in r.'; similarly with *might*:

Austen M 327 he cared very little for the havoc he might be making in young ladies' affections | Austen S 168 Elinor's thoughts were full of what might be passing in Berkeley Street during their absence.

13.4(4). But *be -ing* from denoting the actual moment easily becomes a sign of the immediate future. Mered H 48 Mr. Andrew intimated that they had better be dressing for dinner . . . "We'd better be dressing for dinner" [= begin to d.; *we'd better dress for dinner* might be said early in the morning and refers only to the kind of garment, not to the time]. Cf. further:

Galsw IC 220 And I suppose each time you see her you put your opinions into her mind.—I am not likely to be seeing her [i. e. soon] | ib 45 And now that Cicely had married, she might be having children too. He didn't know.

13.4(5). On the whole *be + ing* seems to become pretty frequent as a substitute for the missing future infinitive:

Defoe M 159 We resolved to be going the next day | Austen N 393 to be finding herself, perhaps within three days, transported to M, was an image of the greatest felicity | Di D 60 P'raps you might be writin' to her?—I shall certainly write to her | Barrie MO 122 I'll need to be rising now | Housman J 1 doing one thing always reminded him that presently he would have to be doing another | Hankin 1.117 If I were here much longer I might be falling in love with Stella | Kaye Smith T 45 Perhaps we ought to be turning back.

Thus frequently with words like *wish*, *anxious*, *eager*, etc.:

Sh Shr II. 1.74 I would faine be doing | Walton A 41 lets make haste, I long to be doing | Johnson R 69 dost thou wish to be again wandering and inquiring? | Austen M 46 he was returned very eager to be improving his own place | ib 139 I will not interrupt you any longer. You want to be reading | ead S 171 Impatient in this situation to be doing something | Browning 1.409 And his fingers, they noticed, were ever straying As if impatient to be playing Upon his pipe | Masefield M 219 He longed to be going up the beach.

13.4(6). While *I must go* says nothing about the time of going, *I must be going* denotes the going as immediate:

AV Judges 19.28 let vs be going (also Bunyan G 15) | Walton A 45 lets go to your sport of angling. Lets be going with all my heart; cf. ib 83 | Swift P 67 Well, I must be going; also Di F 380, Kingsley H 165, GE M 1.106, Stevenson M 281, Wilde Imp 49, etc. | Chesterton F 177 I must be getting home; also Hankin 3.118, Ridge S 114 | Phillpotts M 24 she expressed a conventional regret that she must be leaving them at last | Hardy F 217 He drew near and said, 'I must be leaving you' | Hankin 1.25 now we really must be saying good-night | Bennett RS 82 I must be opening my shop, she said, nervously. And I must be getting away again, too, he said | Masefield M 84 we shall have to be starting in a minute | Macdonald F 266 it was time to be getting back among his own folk || Hankin 1.25 it's time we were going. We really must go. Stella, my dear, we must be putting on our things.

Cf. the obsolete Dekker Sh V. 2.93 Y'are best be trudging.

The examples show that the phenomenon is not exclusively confined to verbs of movement, though of course most often found with them.

13.4(7). In other cases, *be* + *ing* implies rather repetition or iteration:

Bunyan G 4 It is profitable for Christians to be often calling to mind the very beginnings of grace | Kingsley H 35 What's the use of being an Amal, if one has always to be giving reasons | Quiller-Couch M 1 he has no right to be offering presents to my men | Bennett W 1.144 you are much too young to be meeting young men.

13.5(1). After *will* and *shall* the expanded infinitive may be used exactly in the same ways as the expanded present indicative, only transferred to the future:

Massinger N 11.2.124 Will you still [= constantly] be babling Till your meate freeze on the table? | Austen M 112 we shall be doing no harm [through that definite act; *we shall do no harm* is more indefinite] | Di N 643

Stop him. He'll be doing something desperate—he'll murder somebody [*murder* momentary, *doing* longer time] | Kipling L 36 I shall be having breakfast in a minute [shall have begun breakfast] | Gissing B 288 Shall you be living here then? | Chesterton F 57 I shall be writing in my study if there is any more news [i. e. *when* you get more news] | Bennett RS 36 while you're out I'll be cutting the ham for you | Galsw P 11.15 About the time we're bringin' ourselves to drink it, we shall be havin' the next great war | Dane L 63 I forgot! It's going to be ghastly. I believe I shall always be forgetting.

13.5(2). But very often the expanded infinitive in itself takes the same meaning of future as after *must*, and then the periphrasis gives a possibility of a nuance: *people will come* speaks only vaguely of the future; *people are coming* speaks of the immediate future; but *people will be coming* as in Stevenson M 291 refers to the coming as near, though not exactly immediate; thus also

Osborne 52 I beleeve . . . hee will be comeing this way | Zangwill G 11 I shall be going in a moment | Benson N 68 Well, shall we be going? | Hardy L 38 I shall not be leaving Exonbury yet | Galsw IC 151 When shall you be going? To-morrow | id P 46 my children are at school, and they'll be coming home | Maxwell F 29 Will Mrs. Faulkner be coming back before dinner? | Quiller-Couch M 73 Whoever was ringing the bell will be returning this way presently.

This is frequent with *see* (often = 'meet'):

Gissing G 247 When shall you be seeing Marian? | Galsw IC 156 I shall be seeing you . . . before long | Bennett PL 34 When shall you be seeing your husband? | Ridge S 111 I shan't be seeing you again [said to someone dying].

13.5(3). With other verbs:

Osborne 154 I shall bee sending you all I heare | Sheridan 360 my wife will soon be inquiring for me | Ward M 122 the baby looks rather frail; I hope you will soon be sending him to the country | Housman J 73 I shall be sending him a copy of my book on the day of publication | Wilde Imp 18 I bet you anything you like that half an hour after they have met they will be calling each other sister | Galsw 1C 63 I shall be knowing him at Oxford | Kennedy CN 28 it's odds she'll be bringing him home a grandchild one of these days | Rea Six 108 "I don't think he can possibly expect your company this year" . . . "Of course Jim will be expecting me to join up with him" | Priestley G 362 I mun tell somebody, or I'll be going right clean off me dot [Yorksh., go mad].

13.5(4). The notion of repetition is often implied in this expanded infinitive:

Lamb R 36 some of the neighbours will be dropping in by-and-by | Austen M 21 the two families will be meeting every day in the year | ib 177 after a little while we shall be meeting again in the same sort of way [*we shall meet* would imply on one single occasion] | Herrick M 22 Do you come this way often?—Perhaps I shall be coming this way oftener now. I shall be coming this way every morning if you will ride with me.

13.5(5). Examples in which the emotional colouring is more or less distinct:

Brontë J 160 now you will perhaps think differently of your post; you will be coming to me some day with notice that you have found another place | Kipling L 51 Can I show him your diggings?—Surely. You'll be asking whether you must knock at my door, next | Galsw FM 250 Shall I be disturbing you if I do the winders [= windows] here? [modest inquiry] | Locke GP 85 I'll be forgetting my own name next | you'll be telling me next that I'm mad.

13.5(6). In some cases *will* before the expanded infinitive denotes nothing but probability (cf. 16.7) and futurity must be inferred from the periphrasis, if at all (cf. the last sentence which refers to the present time):

Scott A 1.228 He'll be coming hame | Di D 219 Mother will be expecting me, and getting uneasy | Walpole Cp 196 Do I look queer? will people be looking at me? || Ru F 60 You probably will be having a dinner-party to-day.

Will denotes volition in Sh Ado I. 1.117 I wonder that you will still be talking | Walpole ST 116 Will you be having some tea, sir? No, thank you, Anny [dialectal?].

13.5(7). I add a few examples of the expanded infinitive after *would* and *should* without classifying them; they correspond to various employments with *will* and *shall*:

Defoe P 90 As the church doors were always open, people would go in [habit] single at all times . . . and locking themselves into separate pews, would be praying to God with great fervency and devotion | Austen P 35 I knew you would be wishing me joy | id M 59 she was almost overpowered with gratitude that he should be asking her leave | Scott A 1.132 ye wad maybe be rueing it the morn | Trollope W 127 She must wait till the servant would no longer be coming in and out | Stevenson T 116 it instantly awoke my fears. More men would be coming [indirect: I thought: more men will be coming] | Ward M 125 Kitty, you would be doing a thing perfectly unheard of [if you did what you are just talking of]. I should for once be paying off a score that has run on too long.

In Ireland the expanded infinitive seems to be used in peculiar ways:

Moore L 73 I do be hearing that . . . [= I hear, or have heard] | ib 75 I wouldn't be saying that . . . [= I shouldn't say].

Expanded Imperative.

13.5(8). In the imperative, the expanded form is not used nowadays; where the Elizabethans said *Be going!* the usual phrase today is *Off with you! (Be off!)* or *Clear out!*

Marlowe E 1960 My lord, be going | Greene J4 387 Take your earnest, friend, and be packing | Dekker Sh

V. 2.93 Sirra, take vp your pelfe, and be packing . . . Y'are best be trudging | Burns 1.199 Tho' dinna ye be speakin' o't.

Cf. modern Irish Moore L 252 Be leaving the woman alone.— Cf. *begone* 7.4(3).

Expanded Participle.

13.5(9). An expanded participle is very rare indeed; in the following quotation it is a purely literary and rather clumsy way of saying 'As I was going . . . and many people were passing . . .' Defoe P 326 Going one day through Aldgate, and a pretty many people being passing and repassing, there comes a man out . . .

Poutsma (II. 2.329) has two quotations: Sh Cy III. 6.63 and Austen Pers. ch. XX. 191.

Expanded Tenses in the Passive.

Is building.

13.6. The construction *is* (*was*, etc.) *building* in a passive sense, which was frequent from the 16th to the 18th century, while it has now been largely superseded by *is (was) being built*, can easily be accounted for on our assumption that the expanded forms originated (or to a great extent originated) from combinations with *on (a)* with the verbal substantive, in which *a* was later dropped through aphesis; for the substantive in *-ing* like all other verbal substantives (*construction*, *completion*, *conquest*, *discovery*, *punishment*, etc.) is in itself neither active nor passive; *is on (a) building* therefore may mean both 'is engaged in the act of building' (active) and 'is being built', as we say now (passive).

13.6(1). First I shall give some examples of the construction with *on* and *a* retained:

NED 1387 while þe mass is on syngynge . . . while þe gospel was on redynge.

Mal 84 as this was a doyng | Sh Merch II. 5.17 there is some ill a bruing towards my rest | Cor IV. 2.5 Let vs seem humbler after it is done Then when it was a dooing | Mcb III. 4.33 the feast is sold That is not often vouch'd, while 'tis a making [the 2d folio = 'tis making], 'Tis giuen with welcome | BJo A 2.281 The hay is a pitching | AV 1 Pet. 3.20 while the arke was a preparing | Deloney 54 my silke gowne is a making | Bunyan G 108 while my mittimus was a making | Swift J 505 It [the picture] is now a mending | GE Mm 225 roof or keel were a-making | Carlyle FR 303 while the Constitution is a-making [conscious archaism] | ib 445 Our Parliament, which indeed has been a-choosing since early in August, is now as good as chosen | Di P 237 Such a precious loud hymn, Sammy, while the tea was a brewing | Kaye Smith T 237 Marlingate was once more a-building at both ends.

Compare also with *in*: Happy is the wooing that is long in doing.

13.6(2). Next we have examples without *a*.

The following verbs are found more commonly than others in this passive expanded form:

do: BJo 3.61 this very minute, it is, it will be doing | Df R 12 while this was doing (ib 70, 146, 191, 305) | Swift UL 107 I mind little what is doing out of my proper dominions | Johnson Letter Bosw 1.169 There is nothing considerable done or doing among us here | Quincey 291 complaining that there was nothing doing | Wordsw P 8.627 What in the great city had been done And suffered, and was doing, suffering, still | Macaulay E 4.125 what was doing in Poland | Di Do 24, 191, Kingsley H 145, Mac Carthy 2.185, Doyle G 115 | Hardy W 98 there was not much business doing.

The phrase *nothing doing*, which was quoted above from Johnson and de Quincey, is still in colloquial use, but is by some thought an Americanism; Galsw WM 261 mentions it as a new phrase; cf. also Lewis B 265 Knew there was nothing doing!

make: Eastw 434 while their preparation is making | Cowper L 2.93 the house that is making ready for us | Shelley L 498 the hay was making under the trees | Di D 762 while my supper was making ready | ib 607 | Macaulay H 2.116 while these preparations were making in Scotland | MacCarthy 2.380, Zangwill G 20 | Dreiser F 358 little progress was making.

build: Mi A 47 while the Temple of the Lord was building | Austen S 214 at what coachmaker's the new carriage was building | Shelley L 757 Everybody here is talking of a steam-ship which is building at Leghorn | Wordsw 363, Carlyle R 1.45, Collins W 473 | Kipl J 2.138 while the bridge was building | Harrison Ru 66 S. Sophia was built by the husband of the Empress Theodora; and St. Paul's was building in the era of Charles II | Ru Sel 1.472 | Kaye Smith T 352 America or Australia, where new towns were building.

13.6(3). Other verbs (arranged alphabetically):

Di T 2.73 their very names were *blotting* out | Hughes T 2.99 while the tea was *brewing* | Austen E 187 while the parcels were *bringing* down and displaying on the counter | ead M 131 where the conference was eagerly *carrying on* (also ib 144) | Fielding 4.289 whilst the gun was *charging* | Swift 3.112 there was some mischief *contriving* | Di F 180 the supper was not *cooking*, but set out ready to be cooked | Darwin L 2.149 my MS is now *copying* | *displaying* (Austen above) | Di F 407 poles on which clothes were *drying* | Thack N 695 I was thinking of the tragedy yonder *enacting* [cf. ib 694 the idea of this crime being enacted close at hand quite overcame her] | Mi A 22 while thus much hath bin *explaining* | Di D 158 how some points in my character were gradually *forming* [also Swift 3.72, Macaulay H 2.117] | Swift J 304 a peace is *forwarding* | Butler Er 61 apple-trees from where the apples were now *gathering* | Brontë J 323 the horses are *harnessing* | Swift 3.13 while the whole operation was *performing* | Thack N 128 there is some wickedness *planning* |

More U 98 whyles a commodye of Plautus is *playinge* | Sh Hml III. 2.93 the whil'st this play is *playing* | Di D 475 if any fraud or treachery is *practising* against him | Goldsm V 1.93 some absurd proposal was *preparing* (Fielding 5.554) | Shelley L 717 [the tragedy] was then already *printing* (also Swift J 437) | Gibbon M 141 while the new militia was *raising* | Goldsm V 1.78 while this ballad was *reading* | Di N 114 Kate hung down her head while it [the anecdote] was *relating* | Shelley 223 the equilibrium between institutions and opinions is now *restoring*, or is about to be restored | Fielding 4.525 whilst his fate was *revealing* | Kipl L 73 somewhere there's *saving* up for you a tremendons thrashing | Browning 1.411 like fowls in a farm-yard when barley is *scattering* | Scott Iv 445 the stockfish and ale, which was just *serving* out for the friar's breakfast | Swift J 331 just when dinner was *setting on* | Macaulay H 1.235 while innocent blood was *shedding* | Sheridan 331 while my favourite air is *singing* | Scott A 1.163 while the verses were yet *singing* | Di F 407 Doors were *slamming* violently | Defoe Rox 7 all the ready money was thus *spending* off; yet he spent it, so I may say, foolishly too | *suffering*, Wordsw P 8.627 quoted above, *do* | Di T 1.99 the jury were *swearing in* | Scott Iv 222 while these measures were *taking* | Wordsw P 5.110 while this was *uttering* | [there's an answer *waiting*].

Some of these *(dry, form, prepare, slam)* may be taken as active, cf. III ch. XVI.

With the collocations mentioned above (7.5(4)) should be mentioned also Shelley L 732 I suppose it is at present either made or making.

13.6(4). Some verbs must also be specially mentioned here. *Is owing* is frequent in the passive sense (it has not really the meaning usually attached to the expanded tenses, and is only a kind of substitute for *is owed,* which is not said idiomatically):

Sh Alls I. 3.108 there is more owing her then is paid | Fletcher 1.282 there is a matter of 10000 pounds too was owing here | Gay BP 178 To him are owing my life and liberty | Goldsm 619 that perhaps may be owing to [= on account of] his nicety | Austen E 6 a large debt of gratitude was owing her | Di Ch 66 there's a matter of ten or twelve shillings owing to Mr. Chickenstalker. It oughtn't to be owing | Galsw Ca 829 It was all she had, and the week's rent was owing. Cf. Di N 399 he was accustomed to owe small amounts and to leave them owing.

13.6(5). *Wanting*: The combination *is wanting* is rare in an active sense, except when it is followed by *in*: he is wanting in discretion | Austen M 25 the parsonage had never been wanting in comforts | James S 69 she had probably been wanting in tact; note that it is impossible to say 'she wants in tact', instead of 'wants tact', which shows that *wanting (in)* is really to be considered an independent adjective. In the passive sense *is wanting* is frequent, thus already Sh R2 III. 4.13 joy, being altogether wanting. But then *want* in itself may have the (pseudo-)passive signification 'be absent'. *A wanting* is frequently spelt *awanting*, as if from a verb *awant*, in Sc writers: Scott Iv 467 jesters and jugglers were not awanting.

Similarly *is missing* is frequent (also as an adjunct: *the missing link*) though *miss* in the unexpanded forms is not used in the pseudo-passive sense. Di F 241 lest anything should be missing. (Not used actively in the sense 'feel the want of'; it is not good English to say: ask them about the things they have been missing.)

13.6(6). Compare also the following use of the form in *-ing* in a passive sense without the auxiliary *be*:

Sh Tro I 2.312 women are angels *wooing* [= while being wooed] | Swift J 89 you hear the havoc *making* [= that is being made] in the army | ib 143 I would always have one letter from Presto *reading*, one travelling, and one *writing* [thus parallel to the active *travelling*] | Sheridan 334 I met a wounded peer *carrying* off [= who was being carried] | Shelley L 688 as to the poem now *printing*, I lay no stress on it | Lamb E 1.165 the grand liturgy, now *compiling* by my friend Homo | Tennyson L 2.228 Hallam was showing Guizot the Houses of Parliament then *building* | Di D 119 I had never heard one [a coffin] *making* | Di F 316 I feel the domestic virtues already *forming* | Mac Carthy 2.232 the offensive means acquired and *acquiring* by other Powers.

Is being built.

13.7(1). The construction *is building* in the passive sense was liable to misunderstanding in some combinations, and could not be applied to all verbs; it would, thus, be impossible to say *is always murdering* in Dickens's sentence D 488 somebody is always being murdered. In the 18th c. grammarians began to object to the passive *is building* and looked upon it as faulty, thus Dr. Johnson (who used it, however, occasionally in his own writings). The origin from *on (a) building* was, of course, unknown to these grammarians. It was natural, therefore, that the unambiguous construction *is being built* should come into existence, the more so as the way was paved for it through such combinations as Sh Hml II. 1.118 which, *being kept* close might moue more greef to hide | ib II. 2.11 That being of so young dayes brought vp with him . . . That you vouchsafe . . . | H6B IV. 2.67 he should stand in feare of fire, being burnt i'th hand for stealing of sheepe | H4A II. 4.238 these nine . . . their points being broken . . . began to giue me ground | Spect 113 the old philosopher, who *upon being asked* what countryman he was, replied, That he was a citizen of the world | Richardson (q) Miss Jervois loves to sit up late, either reading or *being read to* by Anne.

Cf. also from a modern writer Black Ph 172 we had some very good music *being played* to us [expanded instead of the more usual *had . . . played*].

Here should also be compared the passive verbal substantive as in Bennett A 71 Anna tried to imagine herself converted, or in the process of being converted.

13.7(2). The history of the construction *is being built* has been investigated by Fitzedward Hall, *Modern English*, especially p. 321—359, and various articles in periodicals; Stoffel, *Taalstudie* 3.321 ff.; Storm, EPh 760, 791; NED *be* 15 b, c; Åkerlund, ESt 47.344. It began to be common in colloquial use (and letters) in the last years of the 18th c., thus Southey 1795 a fellow, whose uppermost upper grinder *is being torn* out by a mutton-fisted barber | id 1797 [he] *is* now *being educated* for a Catholic priest | Coleridge 1797 while my hand *was being dressed* by Mr. Young, I spoke for the first time. Other early examples are found in Lamb, Landor, Mrs Shelley.

13.7(3). Examples from my own reading:

Keats 4.79 [1818] I am being greatly amused with your poem | Lamb E 2.20 the pitiable infirmities of old men . . . are being acted before us | Quincey 266 When a murder is in the paulo-post-futurum tense—not done, not even (according to modern purism) being done, but only going to be done | Di Sk 61 some alterations were being made in the interior of the shop | id D 65 when I was being helped up behind the coach | ib 85, 488, 543, F 384 | id N 397 while some bruises were being rubbed with oil | GE A 191 the horses were being led out to watering | ib 398 the key was being turned in the lock | GE Mm 176, 199, etc. | Mac Carthy 2.78 rebellion was being planned there | Wilde D 153 the most dreadful things are being said about you | Kipl L 147 Dick felt that he was being hardly used | id J 2.126 my village was being built | ib 2.130 | Thomson Spencer 210 Were that work being written to-day, it would have to be entirely recast | Bennett P 149 The next moment he was being introduced to a middle-aged woman | Wells OH 200 In China the classics were being printed by the second century A. D.

13.7(4). The simple and expanded passives are found together in

Bennett LR 284 I'm very well looked after . . . No doubt he was indeed being well looked after, but really he didn't know | Walpole C 55 She was excited by her discovery of him, but that meant very little, because just now she was being excited by everything.

13.7(5). The form *is being built*, though clearer than *is building*, is a little heavy at times; and at first people objected strongly to it; de Quincey's expression 'modern purism' probably was not meant as a praise; other writers were severer (see Fitzedward Hall); the North Amer. Review in 1837 termed the construction 'an outrage upon English idiom, to be detested, abhorred, execrated and given over to six thousand penny-paper editors'. Richard Grant White in 1871 calls it 'a novelty as well as a nuisance', Marsh 'clumsy and unidiomatic, at best, but a philological coxcombry'. See also the droll story quoted by Storm EPh 793 from Harper's Weekly. Macaulay objected to the modernism and said he preferred 'the tea *is a-making*', which, however is not found in his writings, though *is being read* and *are being bound* are found in his letters (Thum, ESt 4.426; cf. R. O. Williams, *Some Questions of Good English*). According to Thum ESt 16.382 Macaulay wrote "while prayers were read | while brave man were cut to pieces" to avoid the construction with *being*.—Bacon A 27.21 also has *while it is read*, which now would be *is being read*.

Though I have not found it mentioned, one reason why people objected to *is being built* was probably that *was being* with an adjective predicative (*polite*, etc.) was not in use at that time (cf. 14.7(3)). In spite of all opposition, however, *is being built* is now firmly established in the language.

13.7(6). It is rare to find *being to be*, as in Di Do 122 he had to think of everything familiar to him as being to be parted with.

Nor is the infinitive *be being* frequent, from obvious reasons: Barrie Barbara's Wedding: She has gone down to the village to a wedding.—There's no wedding. Who could be being married? | Galsw F 110 I shall always be being pushed away. The difficulty is evaded in Wells JP 275 Nothing seemed to be getting done, he complained.

I have no examples of the perfect and pluperfect: *has (had) been being -d.*

13.7(7). There seems to be a curious dialectal expanded passive in Manx English, see Caine M 261 that's what's going doing | 266 something going doing in Ramsay | 269 what's going doing? | 279 the child's going bringing up by hand [cf. actively 344 what right has a man's heart to be going losing him?].

13.7(8). To sum up: through the enormous extension in the course of the Modern English period of the use of the expanded tenses the language has been enriched with means of expression that allow nice logical distinctions and at the same time in many cases have emotional value. In comparison with the uncompounded verbal tenses these forms with *be* + participle serve to actualize and vivify, one effect of which is the curious approximation in time to the present moment seen both when *he has been doing* expresses the recent past, and when *we must be dressing* expresses the immediate future, while *he has done* and *we must dress* say nothing about the distance in time from the present moment. But it is here as with other happenings in linguistic history, which though on the whole progressive and beneficial, are not so in every respect: this development, too, has its disadvantage, for the expanded forms are undoubtedly heavy (and hence not often used in poetry), and the clumsiness is especially felt in the passive constructions, whence we see that combinations like *he has been being (introduced)* are practically impossible. Nor is it always possible to carry through a sharp logical line of division between the simple and expanded forms, consequently the choice of one or the other form is in some cases of very little importance for the meaning of the sentence.

Chapter XIV.
Expanded Tenses Concluded.

Verbs of Movement.

14.1(1). Various groups of verbs present some peculiarities in their expanded tenses. First we shall deal with verbs of movement, like *go, come.* These may, of course, be used in the expanded tenses in the usual way, thus especially when repeated goings or comings are implied (some before, some after, the 'shorter time' in question):

Goldsm V 2.63 the real hardships of life are now coming fast upon us | Hardy R 240 she turned to the window. Her breath was coming quickly | Caine C 33 my breath was going and coming so fast | Galsw P 3.33 First would go your sentiments; then your culture, and your comfort would be going all the time.

Cp. also: he is going under the name of Sneezer just now.

Next when *go* and *come* have some modified signification, that does not imply starting:

My watch has stopped, but the clock is going | things are coming my way now | you're going it, I must say | Haggard S 203 I began to think that I must be going mad | Galsw P 3.11 Here we are, going from bad to worse—losing our customers | ib 27 every man of us is going short.

Besides, the expanded forms are quite natural in cases like Goldsm V 2.74 the good are joyful, like travellers that are going towards home; the wicked but by intervals happy, like travellers that are going into exile |

Bennett Cd 34 even then . . . cigarettes were coming into fashion.

14.1(2). But in the plurality of cases *am going, am coming* implies futurity—generally a nearer future than *shall go, come*; compare the use above of *come* also in its simple tenses to indicate future time, and the similar phenomena in other languages, Greek *eîmi, érkhomai*, Serbian *iden* (cf. Sarauw KZ 38. 159 f.). Note also the adjunctal use of *coming* in a futuric sense: the *coming* revolution, age, etc. (see 7.5(2)), and the phrase at auctions: *Going—going—gone!* In the nursery rhyme: "Christmas *is coming*, the geese *are getting fat*" the former periphrasis refers to the future, the latter to the present time, or we may say, that *is coming* equals *is approaching*.

Here must also be mentioned the usual reply of servants "Coming" (which the children of one of my friends in the Danish West Indies took to be a peculiar English negative form of the verb = 'I do not come'). Pinero M 62 Waiter! Waiter'rr! Where the deuce are you?—Coming, sir, coming.

Note the distinction in Wells Par 356 Catastrophe! A fig for your old catastrophe! Which is always coming and never comes.

14.1(3). Examples of *going* and *coming*:

Ch E 805 My newe wyf is coming by the weye | Sh Cæs III. 1.279, 283 He did receiue his letters, and is comming . . . Is thy master comming? He lies to night within seuen leagues of Rome | Lr II. 1.26 Hee's coming hither, now i'th' night, i'th' haste | Di D 174 Where are you going? Where do you come from? | Tennyson L 1.273 I am going up to Cambridge to-morrow | Hardy R 66 When are you coming indoors? | Doyle R 49 And really he is coming to see us? When do you think he will come? | Englishwoman's Love Letters 34 When you come, why am I any happier than when I know you are coming? [= Why does your actual presence make me happier than the expectation?] | Wilde W 37 I'm going away to-morrow | ib 15 We're coming to-night, so we'll see you again | Shaw 2.237 Are you quite sure Mrs. Clandon is coming back before lunch?

Note the distinction between *coming* (futuric) and *arriving* (actually): Wells JP 505 It was all coming—always coming and never arriving, that new and better state of affairs.

14.1(4). Thus also when the preterit is a back-shifted present:

Sh Lr IV. 2.5 I told him you were coming | Di D 125 I mustered courage to ask Mr. Murdstone when I was going back to school | ib 192 my aunt informed me that he was coming to speak to her himself on the next day | ib 44 I gathered from what they said that an elder sister was coming to stay with them | Mered R 381 she heard that her friend was going—would go | Caine C 263 Before Glory knew she was going she was gone || Austen M 258 I wish he was not going away. They are all going away, I think.

14.1(5). With *was coming* in the following quotation compare *was to have* (above 10.8(7)):

Brontë V 356 I was coming to see you to-morrow [= it was my intention to . . .]; but now to-morrow you will come and see me.

14.1(6). Examples of *is -ing* in a futuric sense with other verbs of movement:

Fielding 5.431 he was departing with it towards his own house, but was stopt in his way by the landlady | Goldsm V 1.127 [I'll] perhaps come once more to take a final farewell when I am quitting the country | Vachell H 237 Scaife was leaving at the end of the summer! Desmond was staying on for the winter term | Masefield C 242 I'm sorry to hear you're sailing | Caine C 260 (telegram) Postpone journey—am returning home to-morrow | AHuxley Jest. Pil. 158 I am glad to be leaving India . . . I am glad to be going away.

Going to.

14.2(1). The combination *is going to* with an infinitive as an expression for future time naturally derives from the mentioned use of *is going*; *going* loses its meaning as a verb of movement and becomes an empty, grammatical word; cp. French *je vais faire* and similar expressions in other Romanic languages. The weakening of the original meaning is particularly clear when it becomes possible to say "I am going to go", "I am going to come", etc. This use began towards the end of the 15th c., but is not yet frequent ab. 1600. Åkerlund has one example from Greene and one from Sh, and that is also the only one I know (Wiv. IV. 3.3 the Duke himselfe will be to morrow at Court, and they are going to meet him). It does not seem to be found in Milton or Pope, but after that time it is increasingly frequent.

Bunyan B 73 [she] little thought that both her peace and comfort were going to her burial, when she was going to be married to Mr. Badman | Swift J 215 it is going to be printed | id P 145 are you going to take a voyage | Fielding T 4.263 Nightingale was going to cease, when Mrs. Miller begged him to relate . . . | ib 4.302 a man who is just going to be hanged | Di MCh 40 [Pecksniff's horse] was full of promise, but of no performance. He was always, in a manner, going to go, and never going | Caine C 11 Whatever is going to happen to the girl when the grandfather is gone? | Black Ph 325 You say you are going to get married.—So I shall | Kipl L 219 you might be going to be hanged by the look of you | Norris O 363 Are they going to be gone long? | Is he dressing? No, but he's going to.

Note the contrast between the ordinary (indefinite) and the immediate future in Maxwell BY 105 when you wish that something will happen, you may gain by announcing that it is going to happen.

14.2(2). The construction with *going* does not always refer to what is immediately impending: Wells PF 7 not to the child you are now, but to the man you are going to be.

See "The *going-to* Future" by J. F. Royster and J. M. Steadman (The Manly Anniversary Studies, Chicago 1923, p. 394 ff.) (The three passages alleged from Sh seem all wrong: Meas. III. 1.94, Shr I. 2.165, Merch II. 1.24). They say that this combination is not synonymous with *is about to.* "Limitation of future action to the immediate or very near future is indeed a function of the *going-to* future; but in actual usage it is comparatively rare that *going-to* and *about-to* are almost identical in meaning or interchangeable. *About-to* has a fixed meaning (colorless incipient action), while *going-to* is used most frequently with other shades of future signification. By far the most common use of the *going-to* future is its employment as an auxiliary of intention . . . intent, plan, resolution, or determination . . . the sense of inevitableness that is sometimes expressed by the construction . . . the sense of dread of an impending act or condition".

14.2(3). We may therefore call *he is going to marry* a prospective present, and in the same way *he was going to marry* a prospective preterit. This often serves to denote what was not carried into effect: He was going to answer back when he was stopped by his mother.

14.2(4). A rare synonymous combination is found with *getting* in Bentley T 43 I am getting to be an old man.

Other Futuric Expanded Tenses.

14.3(1). As *die* means 'cease to exist' or 'leave this world' and thus is parallel to the movement-verbs, the expanded form *is dying*, is generally used in a futuric sense = 'is on the point of dying, is going to die', (cf. 2.7(4)) though, of course, not in instances like Mac Carthy 2.327 the cattle plague had broken out. From 6000 to 8000 animals were dying every week. The expanded form is futuric in:

Goldsm 66 Another account came: she was expiring | Caine C 57 they were dying or dead already | Wells Blw 13 being told that my mother was dying and then dead. Cf. also: he was bursting with impatience; and Kipl J 2.57 he dropped fainting by his side, for the chill of the night was killing him (*kill* is the causative of *die*).

14.3(2). Hence also the transferred sense *is dying to* = 'is longing to', a sense which the simple form *dies* never has: Wilde L 17 Arthur is dying to have his hand read | Zangwill G 35 that's just the one thing I've been dying for.

14.4(1). *I'm dining* also is frequently used in a futuric sense (cf. *I dine* 2.4(3)):

Wilde W 14 I must go, as we are dining out | Masefield C 226 Perrin has just reminded me that we are dining to-night at the Governor's | Bennett LR 199 I can't eat here. I'm dining out.—But not till nine o'clock | McKenna SS 153 "Will you tell mother you're coming to dinner to-night?" "But I'm dining out already." "Oh, well, when will you come?" | Bennett ECh 211 She inquired . . . about his meals, and he replied that he was eating at the inn.

14.4(2). In the same way as *I am dining* indicates part of a social programme for the future, other verbs may be used to indicate an agreement or appointment with regard to the future:

Osborne 32 My Lady Anne Wentworth I heare is marryeing | Tracy P 13 Mr. Coleman and I are riding in the Park at 8.15 | Galsw FM 19 I'm shooting with Chantrey to-morrow | id IC 105 Are you sleeping here, my boy? [= going to spend the night here] . . . assuring his father that he was sleeping in the house | Bennett Helen 213 I'm calling on the Swetnams the day after to-morrow. I'll tell them about to-day.—Somewhat differently in Rea Six 47 We're having a baby in about six months.

14.4(3). *If you telegraph home* may refer to any time in the future, but *if you are telegraphing home* (Doyle S 5.194) implies a near future.

Compounds.

14.5. A special paragraph must be devoted to such compounds as the following, in which the object (or other complement) precedes the participle (cf. above 12.2(6)): though the participle (and verbid substantive) *woolgathering* is frequent, there is really no verb *woolgather*, and if the verb *stargaze* is not at all rare, it is, as the NED remarks, a back-formation from *stargazing* and *stargazer*:

Congreve 187 Mr. Brisk and I have been star-gazing, I don't know how long | Austen M 240 William was out snipe-shooting | GE Mm 211 they thought that young Vincy was pleasure-seeking as usual | Di D 180 how can you pretend to be wool-gathering | Hardy W 65 her husband had been holiday-taking away from home | Locke SJ 227 as I am holiday-making in a certain little backwater of the world | Mackenzie S 1.386 as if he were lotus-eating | Collingwood R 327 his two pupils were harbour digging and Xenophon-translating at Brantwood | Bennett LR 16 She was bus-conducting [i. e. acting as a bus-conductor].

Expanded Forms Avoided.

14.6(1). Verbs denoting a state which generally lasts for some time, like *sit*, *stand*, *lie*, *hang*, are very often found in the simple tenses, with the same meaning as expanded forms, because these would seem superfluous by expressing over again something which enters into the idea of the verb itself; hence they can in themselves be used as synonyms of *be* in forming 'expanded' combinations, as *he sat smoking*, etc. (below 14.8). It therefore matters very little, whether *stood* or *was standing*, *sat* or *was sitting* is used; formerly the shorter forms were generally preferred; cf. also Di D 44 she kept the purse in a bag which hung [= was hanging] upon her arm by a heavy chain.

14.6(2). The expanded forms of these verbs seem, however, to be growing in frequency; the simple form *has lain* has even been largely superseded by the expanded *has been lying*. As examples of the expanded forms I give

Sh Cy V. 5.296 I am right glad he is not standing heere To tell this tale of mine | Gent III. 1.143 where senceles they are lying | Goldsm V 2.93 As I was sitting in a corner of the gaol, one of my fellow-prisoners came up | Quincey 437 I ascended to my seat on the box, where my cloak was still lying as it had lain at the Bridgewater Arms | Macaulay E 2.95 That great Queen has now been lying two hundred and thirty years in Henry the Seventh's chapel | Di T 1.25 as he sat, waiting for the meal, he sat so still, that he might have been sitting for his portrait.

14.6(3). Verbs which express psychological states (feelings, perceptions, etc.) such as *feel*, *know*, *like*, *love*, *hate*, etc., are generally used in the simple tenses only. This is easily explained if we start from the *on*-combination, for it seems very unnatural to say: *I am on (in, occupied in, engaged in) liking fish*, etc.

14.6(4). The rule, however, is not absolute. The expanded forms of *feel* often denote some transitory perception:

Kipl L 109 I'm feeling a little cold | ib 217 I'm not feeling frolicsome | Mackenzie C 7 We have come to see how you are feeling | Maxwell BY 7 those tremendous moments when he believed that all he felt she too was feeling.—Very often in the perf. (inclusive time): I've been feeling ill for some time.

14.6(5). In recent times even such verbs as *like*, *love*, *hate*, are sometimes found expanded in accordance with the general rule. One may say: *yes, I am pitying him*, when one would imply the possibility of a cessation of the feeling, but this is not the case in Harraden D

122 [a servant speaking] it's not a job I'm liking. *Already* and *still* explain the expanded tense in Austen M 157 there was nothing disagreeable in Mr. R's appearance, and Sir Thomas was liking him already | Galsw Sw 178 Is she still liking England?—Thus also the coextension (cf. 12.9(4)) in Brontë J 506 while I was mourning her, she was loving another | Maxwell BY 11 and while he talked I was liking him more and more.

Further examples: Jameson F 176 I like you best as you are. How's Oxford?—I'm not liking it very much | Lawrence L 30 What a lovely day! Are you liking the world any better? | Galsw Two Fors. Interl. 23 I don't expect you'll ever forgive me for this.—Why! I'm just loving it | Maxwell WF 235 long before the dinner ended he was actively hating him.

In speaking of a transitory feeling we say *he is in love with her* rather than "he is loving her".

Instead of "she is fearing this" we say *she is afraid of this*; instead of "he is desiring praise" we say *he is desirous of praise.*

14.6(6). The modern verb *think* represents two originally distinct verbs, OE *þyncean* which does not admit of expansion: I think it's going to rain (= 'it seems to me' *me þyncþ*) | What do you think of the new play?—and OE *þencean*, which is frequently expanded:

I was just thinking of you! | Sh Lr I. 2.151 what serious contemplation are you in? I am thinking, brother, of a prediction I read this other day | Di D 126 Now, I have been thinking, that perhaps you might . . . | ib 130 [this is] what I have been thinking of, this month back . . . I have thought of it night and day | Shaw 1.187 it is time for us to be thinking of home | Hope Ch 112 the man is thinking of nothing but nihilists and what not.

The difference between the two verbs or senses is seen in Masefield C 274 what do you think of our home? I'm not thinking of that. I think that all these things are images | Mackenzie SA 191 I think it's so clever of you to play at all. I was thinking I should have to take it up myself.

In Scotch, however, where there is a general tendency to use the expanded tenses loosely, we find frequently *I am thinking*, where Standard English has *I think*:

Scott A 1.127 Sir Arthur's far by that, as I am thinking | Barrie MO 103 And a gey black price, I am thinking.

14.6(7). Expanded forms of *hope* (and synonyms) are not at all rare in recent times:

Bennett P 258 and I'm hoping that you'll straighten it out for me | Rose Macaulay T 126 I am hoping that when one is elderly one will mind less | Ferber S 351 She has been hoping to see you but she thought you'd grown so grand | Bennett T 381 I'm hoping he'll come with us | Oppenheim Laxw 72 I was hoping that I should see you this morning [and now she sees him] || Locke FS 133 I was so *looking forward* to your seeing me (very frequent).

Some mixed examples: Walpole OL 168 I know you want me to be ill. You're wishing me to be ill now . . . You want me to die | ib 164 She's standing there with her head on one side, waiting. She hopes I'll go away. She's praying that I will.

14.6(8). It is easy to see why such verbs as *see*, *hear*, *smell* cannot easily be used in the expanded forms, when they denote one single act of perception; but otherwise nothing hinders the expanded forms:

He is seeing the sights (= he is engaged in . . .) | he is hearing lectures | I've been hearing that noise for the last quarter of an hour | NED 1743 but you at crusts are smelling.

Examples of *hearing* and *seeing* under Perfect 13.2.

14.6(9). If *owe* in the meaning 'be under obligation to pay' is not used in the expanded tenses, the reason is that *is owing* is used in a passive sense 'is owed, is due', see 13.6(4).

Palmer, Gr. p. 149, gives a long list of verbs that are never or hardly ever susceptible of being used in the expanded form, thus, besides the verbs mentioned above, *believe, belong, detest, deserve, hate, equal, consist, contain, matter, know, possess, please, prefer, recognise, resemble, result, seem, signify, suffice, understand.* No attempt is made to classify the meanings or to give reasons for this peculiarity; but on the following page a number of sentences are given in which some of these verbs are expanded in special meanings. And in § 302 the important remark is made that verbs which generally are insusceptible of being used in the exp. form, may be so used in connexion with *always, continually,* etc.: he's always differing from his colleagues | you're always doubting my words | he's for ever finding fault with whatever I do, etc. In most of these sentences we have the emotional element mentioned in 12.5(5).

Cf. also the lists in Poutsma II. 2.339 ff.

Have and be.

14.7(1). The expanded tenses cannot be used with those verbs that do not take *do* in interrogative and negative sentences; indeed, most of them (*may, must,* etc.) have no form in *-ing.* In recent times, however, *is having* is found pretty often (cf. the corresponding use of *does have*), especially when *have* means 'enjoy', 'partake of', 'cause to', etc. (thus in those cases where it is impossible to say *I have got* instead of *have,* see above 4.3(3, 4)).

Examples: Di D 159 "a little more flip", for we had been having some already | Jerome NN 54 he took his meals with the other lodgers—whenever they happened to be having meals.

Thack P 613 after she had seen Arthur light his lamp in his chambers, whilst he was having his interview with Bows | id N 191 you are always having a shy at Lady Ann | ib 207 the Barkerites were having the best of that constant match | Ru in Collingwood 324 I'm having nasty foggy weather just now | Ru Sel 2.447 you probably will be having a dinner-party to-day | Hope D 58 the sense of her position is having a sobering effect | Harraden F 110 the dull time I have been having with him | Doyle S 5.275 in the heavy weather that we were having | GE Mm 201 she was impelled to have the argument aloud, which she had been having in her own mind | Hardy L 188 he was having 'a good think' | Shaw 2.139 James and I are having a preaching match | Bennett C 2.187 we shall be having you ill next.

We are having the manuscript copied for you [which implies that the copying is going on]. Note the difference between "I am having my Browning rebound" and "I have all my books bound in red"; the latter generally means the same thing as "I always have my books bound in red" rather than "all my books are bound in red".

14.7(2). *He is having to* with an infinitive is comparatively rare:

Kennedy R 94 as a matter of fact, he's having to sell his house. He's very badly off | Chambers Saga of Sir T. More 10 She was a shrewd mistress of a house .... and she was having to keep house on nothing.

14.7(3). The expanded form of *be* (*is being*, etc.) with an ordinary predicative is younger than the corresponding form with a passive participle (13.7). I have only two examples before the middle of the nineteenth century, but from the end of that century it becomes more and more frequent, and I have collected scores of examples from such recent writers as Anthony Hope, Bennett, E. F. Benson, Wells, Masefield, Galsworthy, Merrick, Hugh Walpole, Shaw, Beresford, McKenna, Compton Mackenzie, Rose Macaulay, Miss Kaye Smith, Sinclair Lewis.

Examples: Keats 5.72 You will be glad to hear ... how diligent I have been, and am being | Di D 488 they are always being hungry and discontented somewhere | Benson D 89 Dodo was making an effort to read, but she was not being very successful | id B 169 Now you're being personal | Galsw D 193 I am sorry if you think I am being ungrateful | ib 216 | Hope Q 93 I'm being absurd, I know | Bennett A 205 Now, Mr. Price, the coroner said blandly, and it was plain that he was being ceremoniously polite | NP '08 It is very painful to be thought obstinate when one is merely being firm | Russell Soc Reconstr 114 In acting as they do they imagine that they are being virtuous.

14.7(4). The predicative is generally an adjective denoting some characteristic mental or moral quality, and very often a transitory condition or behaviour is meant in contrast to the person's habitual or real character (cf. the contrast in Spanish between *soy* and *estoy*, and similar distinctions made in different ways in other languages, PG 280). The transitoriness is particularly clear in quotations like these:

Walpole OL 124 He was only being kind for the moment | id Cp 125 Or was he only being friendly because he was happy? | Wells Br 53 over here we are being and over there you are beginning | id TB 1.152 She's been being a model—she is a model really [has just been—is professionally] | Shaw A 71 dont be horrid ... I'm not being horrid. I'm not going to be horrid.

14.7(5). Examples with substantives as predicatives are rarer and comparatively unnatural:

Benson D 2.309 then I was being a woman, now I am talking as an artist | Lawrence L 191 She was being a heroine in a romance | Wells JP 618 in certain matters you are being a fool; cf. TB 1.152 just quoted.

14.7(6). The connexion between this construction and the expanded tenses of other verbs is seen in

Wells TB 1.253 contrasting all I was being and doing with my adolescent ambitions | id Ma 2.200 were they perhaps quarrelling or being naughty or skylarking gaily across the Park | Phillpotts GR 89 I had to tell him he was being rude and forgetting that he spoke to a lady.

14.7(7). The expanded tenses are not often used when a second ing-participle is following; indeed many authors seem to avoid this construction altogether.

Examples: Di D 168 The master of this shop was sitting at the door in his shirt-sleeves, smoking. [Here, the distance between the two forms makes the sound more tolerable] | id Do 261 Florence was, one day, sitting reading in her room | Thack N 462 the young men were sitting smoking the vesper cigar | GE A 51 she was sitting stooping over her sewing | Zangwill G 224 some of the working men who had been standing waiting by the shafts of the hansom | Rose Macaulay P 126 She was not writing when I came in, but sitting doing nothing.

Compare also Di F 621 As Lammle, standing gathering up the shirts . . . said this | Ritchie M 241 we have all seen her, sitting stitching in her arm-chair.

In the following two (American) quotations the expanded form is as it were exhausted, and a simple tense is used in the second place after *and*: O. Henry 313 You ain't going away and leave me to die with this . . . | Bromfield GW 61 Am I dreaming, and really lie asleep in the hut at Megambo?

Similar Constructions.

14.8(1). Very much the same thing as is expressed by the auxiliary *be* in the expanded tenses is pretty often expressed by some full verb, expressing a state or condition, like *sit*, *stand*, etc., combined with the first participle:

Gammer 95 As Gammer Gurton . . . Sat pesynge and patching of Hodg her mans briche | Goldsm V 1.78 immediately after, a man was seen bursting through the hedge | Di D 131 I knew the way, and presently found myself strolling along the path to meet her | Thack P 132 When Miss Costigan came home, she found her father pacing up and down their apartment | ib 260 they appeared bowing humbly | Mackenzie C 8 the unladylike bedroom where her niece lay suckling her baby girl | Priestley G 365 He found him in a corner of the deserted room, eating cheese and biscuits.

14.8(2). A special case is *seem* with the first participle = 'seem to be': a distinction between *he seems to nod* = 'it seems that he nods', and *he seems nodding* = 'it seems that he is nodding' cannot, however, be carried through with perfect strictness.

Examples: Sh Mcb V. 1.33 It is an accustom'd action with her, to seeme thus washing her hands | Mitford OV 89 Brindle seems meditating another attack | Brontë V 69 she seems turning me round in her thoughts | Lytton K 200 She seemed standing on the very verge of the upland | Wells Ma 1.141 he seemed always looking at her instead of the ball | Masefield S 274 he couldn't speak nor swallow, but seemed trying to clear his throat | Galsw Ca 189 He never showed his feelings, yet he never seemed trying to hide them, as I used always to be | id T 307 The passionate shame she seemed feeling at her abandonment (very frequent in Galsw) || Brontë W 245 she had undressed, and *appeared* going to sleep.

Both constructions, with participle and with infinitive, used side by side:

Thack N 121 The rosy little children . . . seemed mocking her. She seemed to read in the book, "O Ethel, you dunce!" | Di P 151 The old man seemed gradually blending into the chair, the damask waistcoat to resolve into a cushion, the red slippers to shrink into little red cloth bags.

14.8(3). There are certain constructions which resemble the expanded tenses though strictly speaking they must be analyzed differently. In the first place we may have the verb *be* in its ordinary use combined with an indication of locality, and followed by a participle in apposition to the subject, as in Lyly C 313 I had rather be in thy shop grinding colours than in Alexander's court following higher fortunes | AV Mark 14.49 I was daily with you in the temple, teaching.

14.8(4). Second, a participle may be added to the subject preceded by the weak *there* + a form of the verb *be*:

Sh H4A 1.2.66 Shall there be gallows standing in England, when thou art king | AV Mark 2.6 But there were certaine of the scribes sitting there, and reasoning in their hearts [already OE: þar wæron sume of þam bocerum sittende and on heora heortan þencende] | Defoe R 164 there was no wind stirring to help me | Gissing O 32 there were three hundred people elbowing and jostling one another | Kipling Barrack R 59 And there ain't no busses running from the Bank to Mandalay | Priestley B 23 If there were any drinks going later, he must point that out to Waverton | Galsw Ca 529 I cannot like this smoking in a room where there are ladies dining.

Cf. other predicatives after *there is* III 17.7₂.

The participle *dwelling* (= now *living*) may precede the subject, but the grammatical analysis is the same as in the sentences just quoted: Ch A 3187 Whylom ther was dwellinge at Oxenforde A riche gnof . . . With him ther was dwellinge a povre scoler | Mandeville 213 where there is dwellynge gret plentee of the lytylle folk.

14.8(5). Third, the form in *ing* may be used in a purely adjectival way (cf. the remarks above 12.1(5) on OE.). The adjectival character is shown by the possibility of having an adverb of degree:

This is very amusing (surprising) | her features are very striking indeed | Swift P 17 I have been very sparing of this ornament | Thack N 62 there is no part of the world where ladies are more fascinating than in British India | Cowper L 1.184 a friendship that bid fair to be lasting (NED has an example with *so lasting*).

14.8(6). In some cases the adjectival character is shown by the preposition *to*, where we should have had the simple object if it had been a case of an expanded tense of a transitive verb:

Di P 262 It is very distressing to me, sir, to give this information | id X 182 a broken hint was always worrying to him | Hay B 54 the very fact was wounding to his self-love | Barrie M 296 what is interesting to such as I, may not be for a minister's eye | id Adm. Cr. 33 Your father's views are shocking to me | Galsw Frat 51 His glance was evidently disconcerting to the girl | id IPh 141 the strangeness of the place was stimulating to his brain | Walpole C 127 he was ready to be charming to his aunt | id GM 144 Philip had been away for so long that everything in London was exciting to him | Tarkington F 196 it struck me that light gray was becoming to you | Kennedy R 78 Everything about her welcome had been depressing to him | the night has been very trying to everybody.

14.8(7). In sentences like the following the adjectival character is evident (though not shown formally) because the transitive verbs from which they are derived could not be used without an object: it is gratifying to see so much tenderness | it is saddening (irritating, exasperating) to see so much ingratitude | the weather is promising | Goldsm V 1.86 by all that's tempting | Galsw IC 19 the knowledge of what was comforting | Kaye Smith GA 129 she was irritating at times.

Cf. also Di D 60 Barkis is willin'.

14.8(8). If *he is fasting* means 'he is abstaining from food as a religious observance' we have an expanded present, but if it means 'he has not yet broken his fast today' (as in BJo A 1.364 you must be fasting), it must rather be considered an adjective.

14.8(9). We have also an adjective in Trollope Aut 26 We had already learned to know that they would be forthcoming at stated intervals,—and they always were forthcoming [there is no ordinary verb *forthcome*].

Criticism.

14.9(1). Sweet's treatment of the expanded tenses (NEG § 288, 2203 ff.) is, as might be expected, most instructive on many particular points, but he seems to labour under the inappropriate name he gave to the tenses: it is true that *I am writing a letter* is more 'definite' than *I write my letters in the evening*, but when we come to *I was writing a letter when he came*, the expanded tense should rather be called 'defining' than 'definite'. And yet in both cases the distinction between the expanded and the simple tenses is exactly the same. Note also the contradiction implied in Sweet's terms: *I have been seeing* is a 'long tense' (§ 283), but in

§ 288 he says that the shorter a tense is, the more definite it generally is—and yet *have been seeing* is called a 'definite perfect'.

Cf. also Sweet § 2217 "we may say that the definite present and perfect are absolute tenses, while the definite preterite and future are relative tenses, because they make us expect another clause". Sweet does not mention the fact that what he calls an 'absolute' tense, is really 'relative', namely in relation to the present moment.

It is useless in a survey of English verbal forms or phrases to give such paradigms as those in Sweet's *Elementarbuch*, in which combinations like "I have been being seen", "I had been being seen", "I shall be being seen", "I should be being seen", "I shall have been being seen" are registered as normal expressions on the same footing as "I am seeing", etc., while as a matter of fact they are so extremely rare that it is better to leave them out of account altogether.

14.9(2). Nor can I see that Åkerlund's definitions are always to the point: "the indefinite tenses are used where no special time is thought of" [how about *Cæsar was killed on the Ides of March* | *the train starts at 6.23* | *he lived there from 1910 till 1920* and innumerable similar sentences?], "the periphrasis gives, so to speak, a stronger inner stress to the verb, makes it more sentence-stressed [sentence-stress is a term generally used about relations of quite a different order], by calling the interest directly to the idea of time [?, see above]: the indefinite tense is more neutral and apt to act in a way more as copula than as a tense, properly taken [how is this contrast to be understood?] whereas the definite tense is more pregnant in this respect and is preferred where the action, as such, is to be emphasized" (p. 2).

14.9(3). Western's definition (De med hjælpeverbet be og nutids particip omskrevne verbalformer, Christiania Vidensk. Selskab 1895) is as follows: The only general rule that can be laid down is that while the simple tenses denote what is infinite or has no limits, as in: "the church *stands* on a hill—I *have* never *seen* him", or the instantaneous, as "he *fell* dead", or a series of successive events, as "when he *had gone* I *sat* down, and *wept*"—the periphrastic forms denote the action or state as limited within some period which may be specially defined or understood, as "he has *been sleeping* for six hours", or as simultaneous with some other action, e. g. "he *was dressing* when I *entered* the room".—Western himself sees that this rule requires modifications and qualifications, and gives valuable contributions to this end in going through the various tenses separately; it should, however, be possible to arrive at more precise results, even though perfectly sharp lines of demarcation cannot be drawn between the two sets of tenses.

14.9(4). Grattan and Gurrey (*Our Living Language*, 1925, p. 215 ff.) give a very able vivid exposition of the question, and I am glad to see that they have been influenced by my own views. Their formula is that continuous tenses make clear the relative duration of two actions which roughly synchronize. They give the following diagram, which closely resembles my own of 1914:

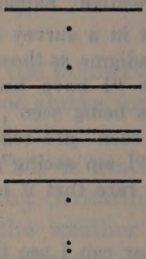
The band was playing
while I wrote

The band played
while I was writing

The band was playing
while I was writing

The band was playing
at six o'clock

The band played
while I wrote



Poutsma's treatment of the Expanded Tenses (II. 2. 317—348) has the same qualities as the other parts of his grammar: wealth of quotations and solid discrimination in judging them, though I cannot always accept his explanations.

14.9(5). A. Brusendorff's "The Relative Aspect of the Verb in English", which he has done me the honour to write for the *Miscellany* offered to me on my birthday 1930, contains a great many shrewd observations in connexion with modern psychology and the theory of relativity. He has not, however, converted me to all his points of view; I think my own 'frame'-theory explains most of his interesting examples just as well as his own. Let me take a few of the most salient ones. (229) "Then, suddenly, she was clinging to him, and his arms went about her": the exp. t. follows the rule above 12.6(5); *was clinging* and *went* are not or need not be simultaneous: we might insert *then* (while, or, because she was clinging to him) before *his arms*. If the exp. t. here means simultaneity, why is it not used in the second verb?—"When I entered the room, he was following me": his following had begun before and continued after the moment of my entering.—(234) "In 1579 Drake, who was circumnavigating the globe, was the first to claim British sovereignty in the New World": it was during his circumnavigation of the globe (whether this was ultimately completed or not, does not concern us here) that he claimed, etc.—There is no necessity to invoke dual time ("a new time track") or dual personality to explain (237): "She heard the car draw up to the gate of their garden. He was coming up the stairs.—He came into the room. Her heart was beating wildly and her hands were shaking; it was lucky she lay on the sofa. She was holding an open book as though she had been reading. He stood for an instant on the threshold and their eyes met", etc. The exp. tenses simply denote what was the frame round the successive events told in the simple tenses; with regard to *lay* cf. 14.6(1), but if "everything passing within her own particular time-system" was to be 'expanded', *lay* should have been so just as well as *shaking* and *holding*. The following quotations offer no difficulty.

14.9(6). With regard to the passive Curme (PMLA 28. 182ff.; 1913) 'energetically' repudiates the theory that *is building* in the passive sense originated in the combination of *a (on)* + verbal substantive, and tries to show that it goes back to a passive use of the present participle in OE. He admits that there is a long gap in the chain of evidence: "The lack of exampls of this usage in the period between 950 and the sixteenth century does not disprove their existence, but only indicates the hostil attitude of the men of letters toward this construction"—as if everything written during these six centuries were due to 'men of letters' and as if medieval writers were likely to be strongly influenced by a hostile attitude towards any syntactical construction found naturally in their mother-tongue! In order to believe in continuity we must, at any rate, have valid proof of the existence of the construction in the OE period, but Curme's own examples are far from convincing. Let us look at them separately. Lindisf. Lu. 7.12 and heono dead *wæs ferende*: et ecce defunctus efferebatur. It is true that the Latin and the modern English versions here have passive verbs, but that should not make us forget that OE *feran* does not mean 'efferre' or 'carry out', but is intransitive and means 'go, set out, depart'; *ferende* thus is not passive. Curme seems to have confounded this verb with the transitive *ferian*. Next, ib. Matth. 13.19 ff., where *seminatus est* is rendered four times *sawende wæs*. These passages are not clear, and it is possible that the glossator took the Latin form in an active sense 'sowed' as if from a deponens *seminor*. Anyhow he does not seem to have understood the text, which in itself is not too clear and caused the translators of 1611 and of 1881 considerable difficulty. It is always dangerous to draw syntactical conclusions from isolated occurrence in interlinear glosses, and Curme's endeavours to explain the ingenuity of the old translator, when he wanted to say that the seed 'was being put', are not at all to the point as this would give a completely wrong sense instead of the correct 'what has been sown'. Curme's third OE passage is from Bede: *land wæs forhergiende*. But this too is corrupt, and we must abide with Wülfing's solution (Syntax Alfr. 2.41) that the reading of the other MS is preferable: *forheregode wæron*. These three passages are the only ones adduced from the entire English literature during nearly one thousand years!

Åkerlund (E. St. 47.324; 1914) gives one OE example: Ælfric Lives XXIII B 109 "Nu ic wille æfter þysum areccan hu þæs mynstres gesetnysse *healdende wæs*", but he is doubtful whether this should be translated 'how the ordinance of the minster was being kept'. There is evidently something wrong about the passage, as *gesetnysse* cannot be the nominative case, but only some oblique case; read *hu he þæs* with the personal pronoun omitted by haplography? At any rate, this isolated example proves nothing; nor are the examples adduced by Åkerlund from the 14th and 15th c. unimpeachable, as he sees himself clearly. There seem therefore to be strong reasons for upholding the view that the passive *is -ing* does not appear before the 16th c.—a strong argument in favour of the *on (a)*-theory.

Åkerlund thinks that this construction has a twofold source (ib. 333), namely *is* + *a* (or *in*) + *-ing* and *is* + present participle used in an intransitive sense—the phenomenon dealt with in my vol. III ch. XVI. But he does not seem to realize the fact that this pseudo-passive use is not found in those verbs that are most frequent in the passive-expanded construction. The test is whether it is possible to use the verb intransitively outside of the expanded forms; and though *the house is building* is frequent, it is impossible to find *the house builds*, and the same holds good with the rest of the examples given in Åkerlund's paper of *is -ing*, with the sole exceptions of *form, prepare, dry, slam, brew, mature,* perhaps also *play.* In other instances there is a distinct difference between the two senses in which the verb is used, the subject being always thought of as more or less self-active with the pseudo-passive verbs, but not in the passive expanded construction; compare thus

pseudo-passive	passive expanded
his prose reads like poetry	while this ballad was reading
he is now mending rapidly	my periwig that was mending there (Pepys)
while George was dressing for dinner (he dresses)	while something is dressing for our dinner (Pepys).

Though I am quite ready to admit that the 'pseudo-passive' application has entered for something in our expanded form in a passive sense, I do not think that it can at all compare in importance with the combination of a preposition and the verbal substantive, which I continue to regard as the chief source of the construction.

Chapter XV.

Will.

The Full Verb.

15.1(1). To express volition emphatically and unambiguously we have the fully inflected verb *will* (OE *willian*), which is distinct from the auxiliary *will* (a) by its flexion, (b) by its syntactic construction, and (c) by being used chiefly, if not exclusively, in literary style.

(a) Flexion: 3rd sg present: *willeth, wills*
pret. and participle: *willed*
inf. and imper.: *will*
first participle: *willing* (with *to* and an inf., to be considered an adj. rather than a real participle; the meaning is not quite that of the vb *will*, but 'having no objection'.

Examples of the infinitive are found in Shelley 824 It follows, that the Gods would always will That which is best, were they supremely good. How then does one will one thing, one another? | N. Angell NP '17 If Northcliffe would but will it, the aspirations of mankind would be realized. Two examples in 15.1(2).

Cf. Ch E 720 a wyf . . . nothing ne sholde Wille in effect, but as hir husbond wolde.

Imperative: Deloney ed. Mann 27 therefore will him to come to mee.

15.1(2). (b) Syntactically this verb can take

(1) an ordinary object (chiefly neutral pronouns)

Sh VA 550 Paying what ransome the insulter willeth | Byron IV 352 Do God no wrong! Live as he wills it,—die, when he ordains | GE A 1.38 whatever God wills is holy, just and good | id ABarton 73 all the children were there, for Amos had willed it so | Tenn 129 to do the thing he will'd | id 407 I needs must break These bonds that so defame me: not without she wills it: would

I, if she will'd it? | Thack N 698 I told Florac that we should remain, if he willed it, his guests for a little longer | Lecky D 38 What Gladstone willed he willed very strongly | Doyle S 4.182 he had when he willed it, the utter immobility of countenance of a red Indian | Galsw Sw 267 [her thoughts:] What she willed would be accomplished, but none should know of it!

Hence it may be used (rarely) in the passive:

Sayce Intr ScL 1.68 Language originated without being willed into existence.

(2) an inf. with *to*:

Ch HF 446 Which who-so willeth for to knowe He moste rede many a rowe | Hawth Sn 43 a man who might have fulfilled the prophecy and had not willed to do so | Dickinson S 150 poverty and wealth will continue in spite of all changes of form, until men will to get rid of them | Bennett HL 153 If only I willed to move away, I could move away. But, no! I shall not will it.

(3) an acc. with inf.:

Greene FB 4.40 But we will send forth letters for my son, To will him come from Oxford to the court.

Other examples see acc. with inf. in vol. V.

(4) a clause with *that*:

Beaconsf L 452 God had willed that His revelation should rest in the world | Hope R 12 So he seemed to will that it should be.

(5) Finally this *will* may be used with adverbs like *so* or *as* or by itself:

Ch R 6920 But they ne shulde not willen so | Caxton R 30 yf he had willyd | Wordsw P 7.9 so willed the muse | Lowell Engl Poets 141 Hamlet wishes to will, but never wills | Haggard S 113 Does the lady go with us? "If she wills".

In ME *will* (without the ending *-eth*) in the third person sg might take a *that*-clause (e. g. Ch B 1843); Ch also has *hath wold* = *has willed*, e. g. B 2189, 2714.—There was also an old verb *wilne(n)*, see NED., but it had become obsolete before the MnE period; final *-ln* phonetically became *-l*, see I 7.1.

The Auxiliary.

15.2(1). Next we come to the 'empty word' *will*, which shares with other auxiliary verbs the following characteristic traits: it has neither infinitive nor participles, hence it does not take *do* and forms no composite perfect and pluperfect; it is combined with the infinitive without *to*; it is frequently unstressed and in that position has developed weak forms; its meaning, too, is much more vague than that of the full verb *will*, as seen in its extensive use corresponding to what in some other languages is expressed by temporal and modal forms of the main verb.

The Modern English forms of this auxiliary are the following:

Present *will* [wil]—weak [əl, l]; written *I'll*, ElE generally *Ile*; *you'll*, ElE *youle*; *he'll*, etc.; Sweet gives the pronunciation [əl] after [r]: [ðə weðər əl bi setld].

Rare forms in literature: Kaye Smith T 276 the whole thing *ull* fall to pieces | Jameson F 65 it *u'll* [sic] be perfect.

Second person †*wilt*, weak *thou'lt*, sometimes *thou't*. Occasionally in Sh *woo't*, *wot* = *wilt* (ME *wolt*) or *wilt thou*.

Preterit *would* [wud]—weak [əd] after a consonant: [it əd], sometimes written *it'd* (Meredith E 480, Shaw 1.178) | Shaw M 84 one ud think. [d] after a vowel: *I'd*, *he'd*, etc.

Second person †*wouldst*.

On the consequences of the falling together of the weak forms of *would* and *had* see 19.9.

It is sometimes said that *'ll*, *'d* are contracted forms not only for *will*, *would*, but also for *shall*, *should*. This is quite wrong; the sound [w] often disappears (I 7.3), [ʃ] never, and in those syntactic cases in which *shall*, *should* is strictly required, *'ll*, *'d* never appears.

Contracted negative forms (in literature from the 17th c.) *won't* for *will not* (phonetically from *wol not*), and *wouldn't*.

Various Uses.

15.2(2). *Will* was used in ElE with a substantive as object without any futuric sense = 'want', especially with a negative or in questions implying a negative answer:

Sh Wiv III. 5.32 Ile no pullet-sperme in my brewage | Cy III. 4.81 Soft, soft, wee'l no defence | Wiv III. 4.65 what wold you with me? Truely, for mine own part, I would little or nothing with you. Cf. III. 12.8₃.

This is now obsolete, and *will have* (see 15.4) is used with the same meaning; ex. of *I will none of* II 16.683.

15.2(3). In former times *will*, like *must*, *may*, etc. (cf. *shall* 17.1(2)) might be combined with an adverb denoting a direction, where it is now necessary in ordinary language to add a verb of movement, though the old idiom is still to some extent used in literary language. (Cp. Dan. *vil ud*, *skal ind*, *må op*, etc.)

Ch B 4242 Mordre wol out [still as a proverb] | Malory 76 the swerd wold not oute | Wilde SM 122 a virtue will out | Ward F 192 He hasn't had the bringing-up of a gentleman. That kind of thing will out | Bennett LM 144 human nature will out | Masefield C 263 It would not out of her head.

Sh Alls III. 5.79 Ile about it this euening | Cor. I. 3.78 I will not out of doores . . . Ile not ouer the threshold . . . I will not foorth | Mi A 29 three pages would not down at any time | Congreve 267 I'll to your master | Swift T 118 he would down with his knees, up with his eyes, and fall to prayer . . . he would of a sudden out with his gear | Scott A 2.314 [a proverb] he that will to Cupar maun to Cupar | Carlyle S 145 I will to the woods | Mered R 20 Come! We'll to Bursley after 'em || Ridge S 41 now you'll on with your clothes.

15.2(4). Apart from this usage, *will* is now, like other auxiliary verbs, used either with an infinitive (without *to*) or in such a way that an infinitive can easily be supplied from the context. After some remarks on the application of *will* to lifeless beings, we shall first consider those cases in which the idea of volition is prominent and later those in which it is more or less obliterated. (It will be convenient throughout to use the learned word *volition* instead of the more popular substantive *will*.)

Volition, Power, Habit.

15.3(1). Volition is popularly ascribed to lifeless things—the same idea that is found, for instance in "the winde bloweth where it listeth". We have this *will* emphasized in

GE A 194 [Mrs. Poyser] What is to be broke [= broken] *will* be broke. (Cp. the examples of *will out* given above 15.2(3).)

15.3(2). The following examples imply the will of an inexorable fate = necessity of some happening (in the future):

Sh Cæs II. 2.36 Seeing that death, a necessary end, Will come, when it will come | Locke FS 147 What will be will be (cf. below 17.2(1) Marlowe's use of *shall* here).

Cp. further the old phrase *it will not be* = 'all is in vain'; many quotations in Sh. Lex., cf. Ch MP 3.42 That [= 'what'] wil not be, moot nede be left.

Combined with *needs*, *will* approaches the meaning of 'must' or 'cannot fail to' (in the present time): Sh Hml IV. 5.3 her moode will needs be pittied.

15.3(3). Applied to lifeless things *will* often denotes power, capacity, etc.:

Will the ice bear? | the hall will seat five hundred | the boat will hold only half of those that have taken tickets | will all that go into the box? | Defoe G 57 all your estate won't purchase them.

This is sometimes hardly to be distinguished from the futuric use, see, e. g. Sh H6A II. 5.109 as that slaughterer doth, Which giueth many wounds, when one will kill.

15.3(4). A closely related use is found in the familiar *that'll do* = 'that is sufficient or sufficiently good', in which the auxiliary has no reference to the future time. It may be used in questions *(will that do?)*, even in the first person: Quiller-Couch M 48 Will I do? (= 'Am I good enough?').

Fries quotes the same question from A. Thomas's play "The Witching Hour" (Amr., 1907). Bennett Imp. Pal. 491 writes: "Shall I do?": she sought his approval.

Mackenzie C 18 Now that'll do with questions (= those questions are enough).

Cf. *would* 19.1(7).

15.3(5). Another connected transition is a consequence of the fact that what one does willingly, one is apt to do frequently. Hence *will* comes to be the expression of a *habit*, especially a habit which is a consequence of one's character or natural disposition. This usage goes back to OE and ME; with the semantic development may be compared that of the adverb G. *gern*, Dan. *gerne* 'willingly', which comes to mean 'habitually'. In the present tense, it does not seem usual in the first person (the only example I have noted, is an old one, Ch C 413 Than wol I stinge him with my tonge smerte); in the second it is often emotionally coloured: "You will smoke all day long—and then complain of a sore throat!"

Sh H5 V. 2.59 (they) grow like sauages, as souldiers will, That nothing doe, but meditate on blood | Sh As IV. 3.159 Many will swoon when they do look on bloud | Gibbon M 191 some will praise from politeness, and some will criticise from vanity | Ellis M 171 a man will tire of carrying a baby before a nurse-maid will | Kipl K 153 Mahbub was mocking him as faithless Afghans will | Eliz., Expiation 50 their letters became gradually warmer and warmer, as letters easily will when the writers do not meet.

15.3(6). The same use of *will* as habit is frequent in speaking of animals and even lifeless things, to which popular psychology is apt to ascribe volition:

More U 123 oxen wyll suffre much more labour than horses wyll | North 247 when a mans heart is troubled within, his pulse will beate maruellous strongly | Scott A 2.319 Where the slaughter is, the eagles will be gathered near | Di D 384 accidents will occur in the best-regulated families [proverb] | Thack P 345 The lights and the music, the crowd and the gaiety, charmed and exhilarated Pen, as those sights will do young fellows.

This use of *will* is sometimes hard to distinguish from *will* denoting the future, e. g. in Galsw Ca 548 Women are generous—they will give you what they can.

Non-futuric Volition.

15.4(1). Next we shall consider the use of *will* as a real present denoting actual volition with regard to the present (or to all times, cf. on this use of the present tense 2.1(2)), rather than to any future time.

If *will* is emphasized, obstinacy may be meant:

Gammer 102 fooles will be fooles styll! | boys *will* be boys. Cf. also Sh Ado I. 1.117 I wonder that you will still be talking, signior Benedicke, no body markes you.

15.4(2). *Will have* has taken the place of the obsolete *will* with an object, 15.2(2):

Sh H4A III. 1.115 Ile haue it so, a little charge will doe it. Ile not haue it alter'd | R2 III. 3.206 quoted below 15.6(1) | Shaw 2.142 Who will have some lemonade?

This combination may, of course, be used in a futuric sense as in the following quotation, where it is used parallel with the futuric present tense *fit out*: Stevenson T 48 if we have the clue you talk about, I fit out a ship in Bristol dock, . . . and I'll have that treasure if I search a year.

15.4(3). *Will have it* meaning 'interpret, apprehend' has no reference to future time:

Macaulay E 2.222 he will have it that all virtues and all accomplishments met in his hero | Hope R 174 still she would have it that all men hailed him for their king | Shaw 1.53 if you will have it that you are well.

15.4(4). A related use is found when a speaker or writer is considering how strong an expression he is justified in using:

Di P 39 he fairly turned his back and—we will not say fled . . . he trotted away | NP '29 I will go so far as to call it an interesting book | NP '29 I will venture the statement that no thinker of the century has held his resources more entirely at command.

15.4(5). *Will* expressing present volition is more frequent in negative than in positive sentences:

Sh Mcb IV. 1.75 He will not be commanded.

Thus also in the first person:

Sh Hml IV. 5.130 Ile not be iuggel'd with | Fielding 3.499 I never was afraid of any thing yet, nor I won't begin now; no, d—n me, won't I | I won't stand any nonsense | Shaw P 264 I'll not be intimidated or talked back to.

It is my impression (confirmed by Prof. Collinson) that *I won't see him* lays more stress on volition (= I refuse to see him) than *I'll (I will) not see him*; the two sentences correspond to "I *will* see him" and "I'll see him" respectively, the latter being therefore more apt to be used as a mere future.

In the following quotation *will not* refers to the present and *I will* to the future: Fielding 1.199 I will not be us'd in this manner. No, Sir, I will be paid, if there be such a thing as law.

15.4(6). In positive statements it is chiefly found when no infinitive follows, in which case *will* is stressed, e g.

Mi PL 3.173 Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will | Shelley 410 Italy or London, which you will! | Tenn 64 The land, where girt with friends or foes A man may speak the thing he will | you may say what you will, I stand on my rights.

Thus also in *will he, nill he*, and *will ye, nill ye* (with the obsolete *nill* = 'will not'), now written *willy-nilly* and used as an unchanged particle.

15.4(7). Further examples are found in the characteristic clauses of indifference with a preposed verb in the crude (stem) form:

Roister 78 Slee else whom she will, by gog she shall not slee mee | Marlowe J 1710 goe whither he will, I'le be none of his followers | Sh R2 II. 1.209 Thinke what you will: we seise into our hands His plate | Mi PL 5.62 Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold Longer thy offerd good | Sterne 112 True Shandeism, think what you will against it, opens the heart | Cowper L 1.20 go when I will, I find a house full of peace and cordiality | Carlyle FR 474 Look where you will, immeasurable Obscurantism is girdling this fair France | Brontë V 262 Look where I will, I see nothing like him | Ru S 85 distribute the earth as you will, the principal question remains inexorable.

Examples of the corresponding preterit, see 19.1(1).

15.4(8). As examples of present volition without reference to future we may also mention the familiar phrase: I'll trouble you for the salt [= may I . . .?] | Fox 2.170 I'll thank you to pass the decanter.

A collection of *I will's* denoting volition with reference not to the future, but to all his life is found in Ch C 440 ff., where the pardoner asks "Trowe ye . . . That I wol live in povert wilfully?" and then goes on "Nay, nay . . . For I wol preche . . . I wol not do no labour . . . I wol nat beggen ydelly. I wol non of the apostles counterfete; I wol have money . . . I wol drinke licour of the vyne, And have a joly wenche in every toun." Then we have some examples of *shall*: "Your lyking is that I shal telle a tale . . . I hope I shal yow telle a thing That shall (= mod. is to, or will), by resoun, been at your lyking" and finally we get a volitional future: "Now holde your pees, my tale I wol beginne".

In Ch T 4.908 "For wel wot I, it wol my bane be; And deye I wol in certayn" *I will* seems to stand for *I shall*, pure future.

Volitional Future.

15.5(1). It is a natural consequence of the notion of volition that it generally has reference to what is to happen in the future; the infinitive following *will* may therefore be said to be a notional future infinitive, just as after the other verbs mentioned in 7.2. This leads to the extensive use of *will* to express first a volition-coloured future and finally a future time without such colouring. But the more frequent such a use of *will* as an auxiliary becomes, the greater is naturally the need for stronger and more unmistakable verbs, such as *want*, *mean*, *intend*, *choose*, where a real (strong) will has to be denoted. We see this clearly in some biblical examples. In Matt. 20.14 the AV has "I will giue vnto this last, euen as vnto thee"—keeping *I will* from Wyclif's translation, where it meant, 'I wish to give to this last man as to thee', cf. Lat. *volo huic dare.* But now the words are felt to express only an intention or a promise, and thus "half the significance of the text is lost" (Molloy). Hence I find that RV changed it into *It is my will to give*, and 20th C. V. has *I choose to give.*

Correspondingly in the third person: AV Luke 13.31 "Get thee out, and depart hence; for Herode will [Greek: *thélei*] kill thee" is nowadays inevitably misunderstood as a prediction; hence the RV alters into: "would fain kill thee" and the 20th C. V. (better) into "means to kill you" | Matt 16.25 AV whosoeuer will saue his life, shall lose it: and whosoeuer will lose his life for my sake, shall finde it = RV: would . . . shall . . . shall . . . shall = 20th C. V. Whoever wishes to save his life will lose it, and whoever for my sake loses his life will secure it.

Want, *choose*, *intend*, *mean*, thus become the natural expressions of a will or intention that is not carried into effect. But on the other hand *will* often serves to denote the two things at once, present volition, and the certainty of a future happening.

15.5(2). The distinction between the strong expression of volition and the weakened *will* is seen in Wells A 157 the man who will be boss will be the man who wants to be boss. (The same idea might, however, have been expressed by saying: "The man who *will* be boss (wi)ll be boss" with extra stress on the first *will.*)

15.5(3). It is the natural consequence of the fact that the auxiliary *will* has no participle and no infinitive, that in the perfect and pluperfect it is necessary to use *want* or a similar verb: *we have (had) wanted to go*, corresponding to Fr. *nous avons (avions) voulu y aller*, and similarly *we shall want to go*, corresponding to Fr. *nous voudrons y aller.*

First Person.

15.6(1). As generally used, *I will do that* means 'I am willing (or determined) to do that, and I shall do it'. It thus indicates not only volition, but also certainty of fulfilment.

Devil E 523 awake! or I will beare thee hence Hedlong to hell | Sh R2 III. 3.206 What you will haue, Ile giue, and willing to [= too] | Lr. II. 4.223 I will not trouble thee, my child: farewell: Wee'l no more meete, no more see one another | Franklin 40 "I will be row'd home", says he. "We will not row you", says I | Di P 339 "for God's sake don't neglect it" . . . "No, no; I won't forget it" | id F 357 But how? I'll tell you . . . If ever you tell of me, I'll tell of you | Mrs Browning A 60 it's a reasonable thought That I . . . will leave my handful in my niece's hand, when death shall paralyse these fingers | Thack P 149 "I *will* see her," said Arthur. "I'll ask her to marry me, once more. I will. No one shall prevent me" | Tenn 64 I seek a warmer sky, And I will see before I die The palms and temples of the South | Parker R 12 I will marry her. She will have me.

Note that in the quotation from R2 *you will have* means 'you want' and would now be thus expressed; in the Lear quotation *I will not* is a promise, but as he cannot in the same way promise anything on behalf of the person addressed, *wee'l no more meete* really means 'I promise to do what is in my power to prevent our meeting again'.

15.6(2). It is easy to see that *I will* in this way comes to be a natural expression of a promise or a threat according as the action does, or does not, agree with the interest of the second person; see examples in which it is combined with *shall* in the second or third person, below, 17.6.

Note the use in content-clauses like these: I promise (have promised, have resolved, I swear, I declare) that I will never again taste a drop of spirits.—But cf. below on *shall* 18.6(1), and on non-volitional *I will* 16.2.

15.6(3). Certainty of fulfilment is not implied in the familiar *I'll be hanged, if* . . ., which means 'I wish I may be': Smollett (NED) I'll be d—d if ever I cross the back of a horse again | Strachey QV 120 'I'll be hanged if I'll do it for you, my Lord,' he (Melbourne) was heard to say.

Grattan and Gurrey, *Our Living Language*, p. 225 say: "*Will* may express the speaker's intention, not necessarily realizable—for example "I will punch your head after roll-call". Usually, however, it expresses futurity plus the idea of willingness, deference, or politeness on the part of the speaker—for example:—"I will see you to the station."

15.6(4). It is worth observing that the plural *we will* does not always agree with the singular *I will*, because *we* means I *plus* some one or more else. If the person (or persons) addressed is (or are) included, we have the so-called inclusive first person plural (which in some exotic languages is kept strictly distinct from the exclusive plural, PG 192 and 214, cf. II. 4.52); *we will* thus may be practically another way of saying *let us*. Grattan and Gurrey, l. c., remark that *shall* would be impolite instead of *will* in "With your permission, Doctor, we will call in a specialist", but they do not state the reason, which evidently is that *we will* includes the doctor among those who are to decide, while *we shall* would exclude him. We shall see something similar in Sweet's rule, 16.3(1).

Questions in the First Person.

15.6(5). The occurrence of *will I? (will we?)* in Standard English is denied by some grammarians, because it seems absurd to ask somebody else about one's own will.

But as a matter of fact, such questions, even apart from "Will I do?" mentioned above 15.3(4), are not so very rare after all in idiomatic English, nor are they so absurd as some theorists imagine. In the first place we have "questions raised to the second power" (PG 304), when the possibility of a question is questioned. *Will I?* thus means 'how is it possible to ask about my will?' implying that the answer is obvious. But curiously enough, *will I?* and *won't I?* may thus be used in the same sense, signifying an emphatic *I will.* (Nearly all the questions quoted by Fries, PMLA 1925, p. 1000 belong to this class). Examples (cf. also *Negation* 23):

Sh Shr I. 2.197 "But will you woo this wilde-cat?" "Will I liue? . . . Why came I hither, but to that intent?" | H4B II. 1.173 Hostess: You'l pay me altogether? Falstaff: Will I liue? [= you may as well question my will to live] | Wiv I. 4.170 | BJo A II. 531 Wilt thou doe this?—Will I, sir? [= of course I will; cf. ib I 223] | Fielding T 4.325 if you will carry him a message from me . . . Will I? said Mrs. Miller: I never did anything in my life with a better will | Shelley L 529 I will answer your questions . . . Next, will I own the "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty"? I do not care—as you like | Di F 573 "Will you send it, my dear?" "Will I send it to the writers? Is that your wish?" "Yes, certainly" | ib 870 | id Do 232 "Will you go, Edith?" "Will I go!" she repeated, turning very red as she looked round at her mother. "I knew you would, my own," observed the latter carelessly. "It is, as you say [N.B.], quite a form to ask" | Hardy F 209 "Will you shake them in for me?"

"Will I! Why, of course I will" ‖ By 573 "And wilt thou?" Will I not? | Scott A 1.219 "your kindness will afford me with local information." Will I not, man? | Pinero S 92 "Come, Mrs. Tanqueray, won't you spare her?" "Won't *I* spare her?" [*I* ital.].

A little differently in Sh John III. 4.69 "Binde vp your haires".—"Yes that I will: and wherefore will I do it? I tore them from their bonds, . . ." | McKenna SS 86 "Will you . . .? No! sorry." "Will I what?"

15.6(6). But *will I* may also mean 'I will not':

Gammer 148 Will you confesse hir neele?—Will I? no, sir, will I not | Defoe G 72 will I let my child suck the milk of a subject? | Thack P 797 "Will you take anything to drink?" the domestic asked of them; . . . "Will we take anything to drink?" Blanche asked again.

15.6(7). Next, we have "rhetorical questions" (i. e. formal questions meaning an emphatic statement of the opposite) as in

Marlowe J 1791 whither will I not go with gentle Ithimore? [= I will go anywhere] | ib 2256 Rather then thus liue as Turkish thrals, What will we not aduenture? [= we will venture anything].

15.6(8). Finally, as *we* may mean 'you and I', *will we* may be another form of asking 'will you?' with regard to something to be made in common by the two.

This occurs chiefly in tag-questions, even after *shall* in the main statement:

Thack E 1.308 We won't quarrel the first day Harry's here, will we, mother? | Benson D 43 (also with *quarrel*) | Thack N 538 We shall be most 'appy . . . Won't we, Julia? | Maxwell WF 40 We won't be afraid of colour, will we? | Walpole GM 165 Will you come to the Stores with me?—Of course I will. We won't be very long, will we? | Barrie Adm. Cricht. 153 George, when we are married, we shall try to be not an entirely frivolous couple, won't we | Galsw P 10.28 And we won't give way, will we?

Cf. the colloquial: *Won't we have* a lovely time? | Benson D 158 you've been dead, and I've been dead for a month. Won't we have a resurrection this evening!

On the Irish-American *will I?* see 16.4(1, 2).

Second Person.

15.7(1). For obvious reasons one very rarely has occasion to state anything about the will of the person to whom one speaks; so *you will* is hardly ever used in the straightforward sense 'you have the (present) will to do such and such a thing'.

But *you will* is often used in a request or order, most often to a subordinate person; the tone may make it into a very strong command and thus, while formally presupposing the will of the second person, it really eliminates that will; and yet Molloy may be right when he says that this mode of expression is (or was originally) caused by "a certain delicacy of feeling which prompts the superior to avoid the strict form of command": You will see the box into the van, etc. This cannot be said to be an instance of *will* used to denote future time, for the meaning is not to predict, but to prescribe.

Sh H8 V. 4.1 You'l leaue your noyse anon ye rascals | You will pack at once and leave this house | Maxwell S 55 The carriage will be at the door at ten minutes to ten, to take you to Waterloo. You'll have your things packed and you'll start—Do you hear? You'll have everything packed to-night, before you go to bed.

Questions in the Second Person.

15.7(2). While it is unnatural to tell a person something about his own will, it is perfectly natural to ask him about his own will; hence *will you?* is used more frequently in this sense than with mere reference to future time; very often the supplementary question *or shall I* is added (cf. below 17.7):

Thack H 30 Will you leave this house, or shall my servants turn you out?

15.7(3). Such questions about the other person's will are often, but not always, equivalent to requests:

Will you lend me that book? | Shaw Ms 174 Will you tell me [request] or will you see me go mad on my own carpet? [= do you want to . . .].

If a request is not implied (or half implied), it is always safer to use some such verb as *want*: Do you want to smoke? (In that case, you must go into another carriage).

15.7(4). *Will you* is a set phrase in invitations: "Will you dine with us on Tuesday?" A gentleman will ask a lady with whom he is in the habit of riding every day: "Will you ride to-morrow?" which is an invitation to come with him. But if he only asks for information, he will say: "Shall you ride to-morrow?" or "Are you going to ride to-morrow?" Note also the negative form of an invitation or offer: "Won't you smoke?"

Thus *will you* . . .? is often notionally a mild form for an imperative, and the same is true of such common formulas as *Will you be kind enough* to pass the salt? | Di P 152 will you have the kindness to sit down for one moment?

In such cases the question is really about the will (not about what will happen in the future), and I do not understand how Prof. Fries (PMLA 1925, p. 1003) can give such sentences as "Wilt thou be pleased to hearken again to the suit I made thee? | Will you please to see her, Sir? | Will you be pleased to repose, sir?"—as "examples of *Will you*? in which the context seems to exclude from the word *will* the idea of wish or resolve". Cp. also G. *Wollen Sie* die freundlichkeit haben und . . .? (not *Werden* . . .) and Fr. *Voulez-vous* avoir la bonté de . . .? (not *Aurez-vous* . . .). The word *please* also is an appeal to the second person's will.

15.7(5). With such questions may be compared the usual practice of tacking on a question with *will you* to an imperative: Stop that noise, will you? | Just strike a match, will you? | Shaw 1.4 You look out the trains, will you?—Indeed it is possible that to the actual speech-instinct the imperative is nothing but a kind of abbreviated *will*-sentence: Have an egg = Will you have an egg? Cf. such instances of abbreviation (*prosiopesis*, as I have ventured to term it, see PG 310) as Hear that sound? = Did you [do you] hear that noise? See? = Do you see? etc.

15.7(6). After *why* the verb *will* is often stressed, so that *why will you?* is equivalent to: why are you so obstinate: Byron 627 Why wilt thou wear this gloom upon thy brow?

Will you? is rather curious in the following instance of a question raised to the second power [= 'do you ask whether I shall . . .?]: Di Do 110 'Shall I remain there, Sir?' 'Will you remain there, sir!' repeated Mr. Dombey. 'What do you mean?'

Third Person.

15.8. It seems difficult to find undoubted examples of *he will* to express volitional future in direct statements, distinct from those cases that are dealt with above or below.

In questions about the will of a third person *Will he?* is comparatively rare: the unambiguous *does he want (wish, mean, intend . . .)* is generally preferred wherever *will he?* might be mistaken for a question about the future. In questions about volition *will* is often emphatic, as in: [He'll leave her lots of money: future] Yes, but *will* he? | Thack V 19 Poor Joe, why will he be so shy?

Conditional clauses.

15.9(1). There is one kind of clauses in which undoubted examples of *will* to express volition are found regularly in the second and third persons, namely in clauses after *if* and *unless*—as we have seen, the simple present tense in such clauses is sufficient to denote future time (2.5(4)). I have no examples of the first person. In the second and third persons *will* here generally (especially if there is no negative) expresses willingness rather than determination or intention; in other words, it implies agreement with the will of the speaker and often may be expanded "will be so kind as"; in the second person it thus may approach the meaning of a request.

Sh Ven 536 If you will say so, you shall haue a kis | H4A II. 3.89 Indeede Ile breake thy little finger, Harry, if thou wilt not tel me true | ib II. 4.545 | Di Do 261 When I am married, and have gone away for some weeks, I shall be easier at heart if you will come home here | id P 254 What have you got to say to me?—A great many things, if you will come away somewhere, where we can talk comfortably.

Marlowe E 929 if he will not ransome him, Ile thunder such a peale into his eares | Sh H4A V. 1.110 But if he will not yeeld, Rebuke and dread correction waite on vs | I shall be glad if he'll come | I shan't be happy unless he'll come.

Compare the two clauses in: "If you will tell me your father's address, I shall let him know in case anything happens to you in the battle". Here *if you will* may be said to express present volition, but in "I shall be glad if he will come" we may say that *will* refers to volition in the future and the verb (here the auxiliary) thus conforms to the general rule that the present tense is used about future time in a conditional clause.

If a determination or intention is meant, *want* must be used in these conditional clauses: If you want to smoke, you must go into another carriage | Di P 215 If you want to ease your mind by blowing up somebody, come into the court and blow up me.

Hence the substitution in Luke 9.23 AV If any man will come after me, let him denie himselfe = 20th C. V. If any man wishes to always go where I go, he must renounce self.

Will turn means the future, and not volition, in Hughes T 1.69 "If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman, and a gentleman and a Christian, that's all I want"—the explanation being, probably, that *if* does not really imply a condition here: the meaning is "all I want is that he'll turn out . . ."; cp. with a real conditional clause referring to the future: "if he turns out a gentleman, I shall be glad".

15.9(2). A relative clause may imply a condition: "We always welcome anyone that will join in common action for the great cause". But generally relative clauses follow the ordinary rules for the use of auxiliaries to denote future time: I am expecting the arrival of some one who will be able to tell me everything | I'm going to London, where I shall see John (where John will join me). Thus also in dependent interrogatory clauses: I do not know if I shall die soon (if he will die soon; when he will die, etc.).

Chapter XVI.

Will Continued.

Will non-volitional future.

16.1. The development by which *will* has come to be an ordinary auxiliary for the future and in many connexions has lost the meaning of volition completely, had already begun in OE times, though most often OE *wile* has kept much of its original meaning; a clear old example of the futuric meaning seems to be Beow. 446 *Ac he me habban wile dreore fahne, gif mec deað nimeð* (while the preceding line 442 implies more clearly intention). In ME the futuric *will* is very frequent (e. g. Ch A 3578 Be myrie, for the flood wol passe anon | 4111 Our corn is stole, men wil us foles calle) and throughout the modern period it is firmly etablished.

In sentences containing *will* it is not always easy to know whether the meaning is simply that of a future event or whether there is still some traces of the volitional meaning left in this verb.

As a doubtful case I give the following, in which even the emphatic *will* in the answer need not imply real volition: Di Do 447 "He'll not come here". "He *will* come here". "We shall see". "We shall see *him*".

English and Scandinavian are not the only languages in which combinations with *will* come to mean future time, see i. a. PG 260, Sandfeld, *Linguistique Balkanique* 12, 180 ff.

Second and Third Persons.

16.1(2). The non-volitional future is naturally found most often in the second and third persons. The most obvious examples are those in which the whole context or situation precludes the possibility of volition on the part of the subject, thus often when the subject is not a living being:

The next war will be more cruel than can be imagined | the moon will rise at eight | Shaw 1.161 It will be nicer out here, dont you think | Russell, Scept. Essays 101 One of his sayings will illustrate this | there will be no rain today | the result (consequences) will be disastrous | Stevenson V 145 when at last the end comes, it will come quietly and fitly | it will take long to settle that.

Similarly with subjects denoting living beings:

Look out, or you'll be run over | you will have to submit whether you will or not | he'll be able to tell to-morrow | you (he, she) will come of age next year | you (he, she) will be forgotten long before the end of the century | he'll repent some day | Di P 311 you'll be robbed on it. Shall I? says he. Yes, you will.

16.1(3). Subjuncts like *certainly*, *probably* are very often added:

He will certainly be rewarded | she will probably die before evening.

Or else *will* is combined with a conditional or temporal clause or with an adverb or other subjunct of the same import:

You (he, she) will get wet through if the rain does not stop soon | you will miss the train unless you take a taxi | he will be surprised if you turn up before nine |

no one will discover it unless he tells | when you grow up, you'll understand | under those circumstances they will perish | their uncle will probably leave everything to them, and then (in that case) they will be very rich; otherwise they'll remain poor.

16.1(4). The auxiliary *will* may be stressed to emphasize the certainty of the future event (often printed in italics):

Death may come any day, but it *will* come some day | Seeley E 168 the changes and the struggles when they come—and they will come—will be on a larger scale | Mackenzie Rogues 296 the holidays aren't half over yet . . . but they *will* be over | Galsw P 9.9 They'll make you their figurehead. [More smiles.] They *will*.

Those cases in which the simple present suffices to denote future time have been indicated above (2.4): the simple present and *will* are combined in By L 62 on Tuesday he dines with me, and will meet Moore; other ex. l. c.

Questions.

16.1(5). In the second person *will you* is still used more frequently as a question about volition than about a pure future, though the latter is now increasingly frequent. In questions about time *will* is found, for instance, in

Di X 4 When will you come to see me? | Ward F 20 When'll you be off?

When a question is not formally indicated by word order, but only implied in the tone, *you will* is used exactly as when no question is implied; thus even immediately after *shall* in Bennett HL 23 "However, I shall —" "You will what?"

16.1(6). In most cases *will he?* is a question about the mere future, without regard to actual volition:

Will the moon rise soon? | will he be able to go to Switzerland this summer [do you think]? | what will the world say? | when will he be back? | will the meeting take place? | what will happen, if you refuse? | Sh H4B IV. 4.103 Will Fortune neuer come with both hands full? | Brontë V 241 will the Nan come again to-night, think you?

Impatience may be shown by stress and intonation as in Bennett LR 201 When *will* the war be over?

16.1(7). In questions like the following ones (implying pitying wonder at the future destiny of a person) one would nowadays rather say *is to*: Congreve 163 O strange, what will become of me! | Goldsm 661 My poor niece, what will become of her?

First Person.

16.2(1). In the first person *will* does not lend itself so well as in the second and third persons to the expression of mere futurity, as *I will* and *we will* are so extensively and so naturally put in requisition to express volition, and as the other auxiliary, *shall*, has come to be much used with *I* and *we* to express mere futurity.

Still *I will* and *we will* may be used in a futuric sense, and in spite of the condemnation of grammarians this usage is constantly gaining ground, which cannot be thought unnatural, seeing that there are here, just as with the other persons, many border cases in which it is difficult to know whether volition or pure future is meant, and that the abbreviated form *'ll* is so handy; the influence of the other persons is also instrumental in making *I'll* common.

As examples of border cases between volition and mere futurity I may quote from the end of Shelley's Letter to Maria Gisborne: Next winter you must pass with me: *I'll have* My house by that time turned into a grave Of dead despondence and low-thoughted care . . . *We will have* books . . . *we'll have* tea and toast . . . And *we'll have* fires out of the Grand Duke's wood . . . And then *we'll talk*;—what shall we talk about? . . . *We'll make* our friendly philosophic revel Outlast the leafless time . . . (*will have* here different from that in 15.4(2)).

16.2(2). A special border case is *I'll be bound* as implying a promise or certainty, as in Sh Merch IV. 1.211 if that will not suffice, I will be bound to pay it ten times ore | GE Mm 104 we shall hear of him soon enough, I'll be bound—different from Sh Wiv IV. 6.54 So shall I euermore *be bound* to thee. Cf. also Goldsm V 1.117 I'll warrant | Osborne 26 You doe not tell mee whither you received the book's I sent you, but I will hope you did (cf. I am fain to hope . . ., and *I'll be hanged*, above 15.6(3)).

16.3(1). With regard to the first person plural it must be remembered (vol. II 4.52 ff. cf. above 15.6(4, 8)), that *we* means 'I *plus* someone else'; when this is brought expressly to the consciousness of the speaker, there is a stronger tendency than with the simple *I* to use *will*, as this auxiliary fits the second or third person. This, I take it, is the reason underlying the rule which Sweet (*Transact. of Philol. Soc.*, 20. March 1885 p. XIII, NEG § 2202 b) formulates thus: "Such combinations as *you and I, we two, we three, we all* take *will* instead of *shall*: *we shall get there first*, but *I expect you and I will get there first* | *we two will be able to manage it quite well* | *I shall dream about those dogs to-night, I am sure I shall. So shall I. So we all will.* If we put the *all* of the last example after the verb, the *shall* must be restored: *so shall we all.*"

The correctness of this rule was contested by most of the members of the Philological Society that were present when Sweet stated it. The examples I have collected from my reading in English literature show that there is a good deal of uncertainty on this point; I indicate those cases in which volition may be meant, by [v].

16.3(2). Quotations agreeing with Sweet's rule: Marl E 1375 if this be all, Valoys and I will soone be friends againe | Sh Merch I. 1.70 We two will leaue you [v] | Di D 53 David, you and I will go upstairs, boy [v] | ib 356 [Uriah Heep] Mother and me will have to work our way upwards | Philips L 54 Sir Thomas and I will be delighted if you will join our party | Hope Z 52 the moment they leave us you and I will mount our horses [v] | Kipl L 51 Perhaps some day you and I will go for a walk round the wide earth | ib 82 I shall go . . . the whole lot of us will be there, and we shall have as much as ever we can do | Benson D 50 you and I will go to the smoking-room [v] | Benson A 304 you and I will have to be very economical | Street E 27 Is Henry coming home to-day?—No, he can't leave Windsor. Jack and I will be alone | Merriman V 26 Likely as not, said Captain Cable, we three'll not meet again | Harraden D 151, Ward F 51, Doyle B 97 | Rose Macaulay P 48 I do hope that after this war we English will never again forget that we hate all foreigners.

16.3(3). For convenience' sake I print here corresponding examples with *would*:

Di X 35 at last he began to think—as you and I would have thought at first | id D 33 You would like to be a lady?—Yes. I should like it very much. We would all be gentlefolks together, then | Stevenson T 185 Ten to one, if I were so foolhardy . . . I and the coracle would be knocked clean out of the water | Hope R 213 you and I, waking first, would find the lodge a mass of flames. We should have to run for our lives | Trollope B 273 You and I and Eleanor's other friends would have received the story with much disgust; but we should have been angry with Eleanor | Rea Six 198 if we were married we'd both be quite admirably stimulated all the time.—No, we shouldn't.

16.3(4). Quotations against Sweet's rule:

Sh Ado V. 1.195 he and I shall meete | Mcb I. 1.1 When shall we three meet againe? | H4A V. 2.100 some of vs neuer shall a second time do such a curtesie | Austen S 152 We three shall be able to go in my chaise | ib 154 Margaret and I shall be as much benefited by it as yourselves | GE Mm 174 You and I shall quarrel if you call that lady my aunt again | Browning 1.407 I and my mistress, side by side, Shall be together | Stevenson D 52 you and I shall walk together | Barrie T 194 He knew what he was at that moment as you and I shall never be able to know him | Dickinson S 6 and so we shall all find ourselves giving our points of view | Caine P 122 | Maxwell EG 79 Oh, she'll get over it. We all shall. Don't worry | Mackenzie SA 198 Geoffrey's off to Oxford to-morrow, and then you and I shall be all alone.

Those who insist on "I (we) shall not be able to go" seem always to say "Neither of us will be able to go".

16.3(5). In Elizabethan English *I (we) will* is not infrequent even where no volition is meant; many examples (not all of them certain) in Alex. Schmidt's Sh-Lex., p. 1372, no. 4.

Abbott § 319 is at some pains to explain some Shakespearian cases: "In Hamlet V. 2.183, *I will win for him, if I can; if not, I will gain nothing but my shame and the odd hits*, the *will* is probably used by attraction with a jesting reference to the previous *will*: 'My purpose is to win if I can, or, if not, to gain shame and the odd hits' . . . In *I will live to be thankful to thee for't*, T. N. IV. 2.88—the *will* refers, not to *live*, but to "live-to-be-thankful", and the sentence means "I purpose in my future life to prove my thankfulness". Abbott here evidently would have used *shall*.

With *perchance*, *perhaps*, *I will* was the regular idiom in ElE see below 18.5(5).

16.3(6). In recent use *I'll* expressing mere futurity is perhaps most common in the phrase *I'll be (very) glad*, which is often said by people who otherwise say *I shall*. But in other combinations, too, it is not at all rare in recent English books.

Gissing G 195 we'll make a living somehow | Walpole GM 161 [educated lady:] I don't think we'll have rain to-day | Kaye Smith HA 213 I'll have to be back in good time | ib 238 If I stay on here we will only just be miserable | ib 295 I wonder when we'll hear about Peter (in Walpole and Miss Kaye Smith possibly dialectal, southern or south-western) | Sutro Choice 50 I'll have to padlock that door! | Sadleir Privilege 186 I expect

I'll be in late | Salt Joy 24 I wish I could see you playing one of your parts. One of these days I pray God I will | Priestley B 74 And here we are, and here we'll have to stay, at least till morning and perhaps longer (but ib 75 No, we shall have to stay in here all night).

Cf. *it shall go hard but I will*, below 17.2(4).

16.3(7). The Scotch and Irish, hence also the Scotch-Irish parts of the U.S., use constantly *will* in this way, e.g.

Goldsm V. 1.117 I'll warrant we'll never see him sell his hen of a rainy day | Barrie MO 56 it cannot be far from the time when I will be one of those that once were | Wilde D 185 I suppose in about a fortnight we will be told that he has been in San Francisco | Norris O 66 We'll have rain before the week is out . . . we will have an early season | Hurst Five and Ten 337 I am not going to live to be an old man . . . I will not get old.

With regard to America, I may quote first what Whitney (a native of New England) says (*Language and the Study of Language*, 1868, p. 86): "A reprehensible popular inaccuracy—commencing in this country, I believe, at the South or among the Irish, but lately making very alarming(!) progress northward, and through almost all classes of the community—is threatening to wipe out in the first person of our futures the distinction between the two auxiliaries *shall* and *will*, casting away the former, and putting the latter in its place. The Southerner says: "It is certain that we *will* fail," "I *would* try in vain to thank you" . . . to disregard obligation in the laying out of future action, making arbitrary resolve the sole guide, is a lesson which the community ought not to learn from any section or class, in language any more than in political and social conduct."

Second, Curme's article (Journ. of English and Germanic Philol. 12, 1913). After some examples of *I shall* he says: "In American colloquial speech there is a strong tendency here to use *will*, i. e. we are struggling for an absolute future without any respect to free moral agent or natural law, a future tense which only indicates simple future time, such as is found in the classical languages: "Doctor Morgan, *will* (future act) I ever get up?" . . . While there is thus a strong tendency in lively language to regard a future act as certain and thus use *will*, the evident advantages of the vague, indefinite *shall* in the domain of the vague and indefinite are still vividly felt in American English, even in colloquial speech where *will* is most strongly entrenched: "I'm bad enough, God knows, and I'm afraid I *shall* find my way to hell some day". The result of the American development is not the destruction of older, better usage, but the retention of it where its indefinite meaning is appropriate, and its replacement by *will* only for the sake of greater accuracy of expression. Thus this result is a finer differentiation of meaning—the goal of all higher linguistic development. This must not be confounded with the development in Irish and Scotch dialect, where the valuable distinctive meanings of *shall* have been lost—a most unfortunate result indicative of less accurate thought and feeling".

I am afraid that Curme here is reading too many subtle shades of meaning into American usage. His countryman Prof. Fries also points out that he does not himself follow his own subtle rules.

Questions in First Person.

16.4(1). In Standard English *will I (will we)* is never used as a pure future, cf. 15.6(5)ff., but in Scotch, Irish and to some extent in American English this occurs, corresponding to Standard *shall I (we)*:

Scott A 2.181 O, when will I forget that? | Ridge G 129 [Irish?] Where will we have the pleasure of sending the articles? | Barrie T 145 will you tell her, man, or will I? | id P 44 | [Mackenzie S 1.16 [child:] Oh, mother, when will I read writing?] | ib 1.370 [Irish lady:] Will I meet you by the side-gate? | BStevenson Boule Cabinet 270 How will I get in? | Lewis MS 120 Well, what'll we do tonight? Shall we go to the movies? | Hurst Five and Ten 149 Jenny, how soon will we have a nook somewhere—ours—alone?

16.4(2). In the following examples the Irish-American *will I (we)* is still more strange to British people, as it corresponds rather to *am I to (are we to)*—asking for advice or order: Birmingham W 83 What'll I do at all? | id Regan 57 what'll I do when he starts asking me questions? | London V 45 What time'll I come for you? | Lewis B 147 How'll we kill the rest of the time? | Mason R 232 Oh, Hilary, what will I do? Till you come back to me! What will I do? | Masefield M 87 [an Irish-woman:] Will I wet the tea, sir? | Norris S 224 What will we do with the two prisoners? | Gaye Vivandière 259 "Then they will ask you about the Khovanskis, and you will have to tell the truth". "And what will I say?" said Julie.

Temporal and Conditional Clauses.

16.5. *Will* may of course be used in such clauses as *Wait till Tuesday, when you will see* (continuative *when* = 'for then') and similarly *shall*: *Wait till Tuesday, when I shall tell you everything.* Thus also in other temporal clauses which do not serve to specify the time: *A time will come when you will know (when I shall tell you).* But *We shall light the lamp when it gets dark* | *It will be splendid if he is able to come* | *I will come if it's any use to you*—are decidedly more natural than . . . *when it will get dark* | *if he will be able to come* | *if it will be any use to you.*—*If that'll do* is, of course, all right, as *will* here has no reference to the future.

Will with Perfect Infinitive.

16.6(1). With the perfect infinitive *will* expresses the before-future (cf. 1.1 and below 18.8 the corresponding use with *shall*); in some of the quotations *will* may have the meaning of supposition (see 16.7). This combination does not seem to be found in Sh, though Ven 819 might be thus interpreted ["as one on shore, Gazing vpon a late embarked friend, Till the wilde waues will haue him seene no more"]:

Quincey 300 Very soon men will have lost the art of killing poultry | Shelley L 534 this will be one among the innumerable benefits which you will have bestowed upon me | Shelley 731 Ere the sun through heaven once more has rolled, The rats in her heart will have made their nest | Thack P 199 You will come in for ballot in about three years, by which time you will have taken your degree | Hope D 78 he'll have forgotten by the end of the term | Lang T 164 when parents have abolished the study of Greek, something will have been lost to the world | Dickinson S 55 there will be rules, gladly obeyed because they will have been freely adopted | Pinero BD 286 in less than twelve months she will have grown heartily sick of her solemn surroundings | Walpole C 228 If that influence succeeds . . . one of the greatest opportunities the Chapter can ever have had will have been missed | id OL 240 when you wake these fancies will have gone | Oppenheim People's Man 152 Before a year is past, I reckon that many millions will have passed from the pockets of the middle-classes into the pockets of the labouring man | Beresford R 122 it's possible that if anything has happened, he will have had instructions to tell some responsible person.

In less formal speech the simple perfect is here used, 5.6(3).

16.6(2). The before-future with *will have done* (cf. 3.9):

Fielding T 4.253 Fortune will never have done with me, till she hath driven me to distraction | Shaw P 53 he wont have done finding fault with everything this side of half past | Galsw SS 299 Sit down; I'll have done in a minute.

16.6(3). In a temporal clause (cf. *shall have* 18.4(3)): Shaw StJ 103 I shall be remembered when men will have forgotten where Rouen stood.

Supposition.

16.7. The use of *will* to express a supposition or probability (with regard to present or past time) is somewhat related to its use as an auxiliary of the future (cf. the corresponding use of the future tense in French and Italian and of *werden* in German).

16.7(1). In speaking of the present time generally with the expanded infinitive:

Sh H4B III. 2.16 I was once of Clements Inne; where (I thinke) they will talke of mad Shallow yet | Spect (q) My learned reader will know the reason why one of these verses is printed in Roman letters | Hazlitt A 12 It is late, and my father will be getting impatient at my stopping so long | Di D 219 mother will be expecting me and getting uneasy | Hewlett Q 168 she'll be sleeping now | Caine P 104 Tea will be waiting | Zangwill G 255 Missus will be wanting me now | Bennett A 12 But I must be getting on. The horse will be restless | Walpole RH 46 He is waiting for us downstairs. He will be wondering where we are | Merriman Velvet Key 126 This, I think, will be the key.

16.7(2). A supposition with regard to the future is found in Sadleir Privil. 186 [a young man is going to meet some friends at the play and says:] I expect I'll be in late. The Lambournes and Monica will be supping somewhere.

16.7(3). This *will* is used more extensively in Scotch than in Southern English:

Scott A 1.225 It wad be frae the lieutenant then | ib 228 they will be business letters | ib 228 he'll be coming hame | Douglas Green Shutters 52 He's getting a big boy, how oald will he be?—Cf. Storm EPh 741; NED *will* 15 d: "Hence (chiefly *Sc.* and *north. dial.*) in estimates of amount, or in uncertain or approximate statements . . . *it will be* . . . = 'I think it is . . .' or 'it is about . . .'; *what will that be?* = 'what do you think that is?'"

16.7(4). *Will* may also express a supposition when followed by the perfect infinitive; *you will have heard* = 'I suppose you have heard':

Coleridge B 7 My earliest acquaintances will not have forgotten the eagerness with which I laboured | Shelley L 718 you will have received the tragedy by this time | GE Mm 51 he will have brought his mother back by this time | Thack P 137 It will have been perceived that

Miss Fotheringay could talk freely . . . in her family circle | Brontë J 393 you will have heard of it? | Quiller-Couch M 168 Ruth will have changed. It is impossible that she has not changed | Benson D 145 how will Dodo have taken it? | Ward E 448 I must go back to her—she will have missed me | Mered R 150 "Will he have seen me? Will he have known me?" whispered Lucy tremulously | Pinero Q 175 then [= from this I conclude that] she'll have gone home, I expect, to change | Sutro F 41 it is unlikely that you will have heard anything definite | Bennett T 396 She won't have heard you come | Maxwell S 231 she'll have had her dinner | Kaye Smith HA 9 you'd like him to come in . . . but I expect he'll have had his tea | Sutro Choice 89 I've told you again and again it won't have been his doing at all—but Clarissa's.

16.7(5). There is a similar use of *will* in scientific reasonings, where it approaches the sense of *must* though with a shade of diffidence, e. g. Darwin D 610 A great stride in the development of the intellect will have followed, as soon as the half-art and half-instinct of language came into use; for the continued use of language will have reacted on the brain and produced an inherited effect; and this again will have reacted on the improvement of language.

Chapter XVII.

Shall.

Forms.

17.1(1). The Modern English forms of this verb are the following:

Present *shall* [ʃæl]—weak [ʃəl, ʃl].
Second person †*shalt* [ʃælt].
Preterit *should* [ʃud]—weak [ʃəd, ʃd], sometimes [ʃt].
Second person †*shouldst* [ʃudst].

Contracted negative forms (from the 17th c.) *sha'n't* or *shan't* [ʃaˑnt] and *shouldn't* [ʃudnt].

We may note the following abbreviated forms: Gammer 106 yoush beare | 126 Ise | 127 Thouse | 127, 128 wese | Sh Ro I. 3.9 (Juliet's mother) thou'se heare our counsell | Lr. IV. 6.246 (Edgar's dial.) ice try.

The form *se* is preserved in modern Sc; the phrase *I'se uphauld* (uphold = maintain) is sometimes (thus in Barrie's earlier writings) spelt *I suppaud*, as if containing a verb like *suppose.*

Sweet, Primer 80, writes [whitʃ ˈtrein ʃə wij gou bəi] with occasional loss of [l].

Use.

17.1(2). The original meaning of *shall*, OE *sceal*, is 'owe'; in OE and ME it may take such objects as money or tribute.

Shall is sometimes found with an adverb of direction without any verb of movement (cf. above 15.2(3) *will*):

Sh H4B V. 1.1 By cocke and pye, you shall not away to night | Austen S 135 I was in the greatest fright lest she should out with it all | Brontë P 12 there you shall out and work | Ward M 83 a precipitate exit lest the inward laugh should out.

The chief use of *shall* is with an infinitive, where it meant at first 'ought to, must, have to, am compelled to'. This meaning of obligation, compulsion, duty, necessity or constraint, physical or moral, is still visible in certain combinations, though in others it has lost its old force, so that *shall* like *will* is often nothing but an empty auxiliary, a grammatical implement without any real meaning of its own.

In the rest of this chapter I shall use the word 'obligation' as a general term for various kinds of constraint, etc.

Fatal Obligation.

17.2(1). In the first place, *shall* may express fatal obligation or necessity, independent of human will and of any special time (generic time); but the alternation in the first quotation with *will* shows how what is felt as valid at all times and predestined comes to be looked upon as destined to happen in future. *Shall* in this use approaches the meaning of *must*, but in most of the following sentences the best idiomatic modern rendering of the idea of fatal necessity would be *is sure to*, *is certain to*.

Marlowe E 1962 Well, that shalbe, shalbe—but in F 74 Marlowe gives the same sentiment as: What wil be, shall be (a translation of It. Che sera, sera), cf. above 15.3(2) Locke FS 147 What will be will be | Sh H4B III. 2.41 Death is certaine to all, all shall dye.

Cf. also the three variants of the same proverb: AV Eccles. 13.1 He that toucheth pitch, shal be defiled therewith | Sh Ado III. 3.60 they that touch pitch will be defil'd | Galsw P 12.61 Who touches pitch shall be defiled.

Further examples: More U 73 he that shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the marke | Marlowe H 240 Who builds a pallace and rams vp the gate, Shall see it ruinous and desolate | Spect 181 a polite country 'squire shall make you as many bows in half an hour, as serve a courtier for a week | ib 182 though you hatch a crow under a hen, the nest it makes shall be the same with all the other nests of the same species | Mrs. Browning A 192 Say a foolish thing but often enough, the same thing shall pass at last for absolutely wise | Phillpotts M 20 No nobler pile of granite shall be found upon Dartmoor | A. Lang Ban & AB 24 Who wins his Love shall lose her, Who loses her shall gain (in the rest of the poem the present is used: He loses her who gains her, etc.).

Shall seems to mean 'must' (logical necessity) or 'is probably' in: Shelley 207 What we behold Shall be the madhouse and its belfry tower. Cp. the similar use of *should*, below 20.2(8).

17.2(2). A survival of the old use of *shall* to denote destiny without any necessary reference to future is found in the question *Who shall say?* [Who is to say = no one can tell . . .]: Poe 340 a volume, which (perhaps merely from its quaintness—who shall say?) never failed to inspire me | Thack N 331 That such battles take place in other domestic establishments, who shall say or shall not say? | Kingsley H 334 who shall say that the whisper was of the earth? (also Carpenter LC 75, Meredith H 109, Haggard S 29, 183, 226, Doyle M 23, Caine E 557, 601, etc.).

17.2(3). Similarly in other 'rhetorical questions', e. g. Pope 244 Who shall decide, when doctors disagree? | Johnson R 47 twenty months are passed; who shall restore them? | Wordsw P 2.204 But who shall parcel out His intellect by geometric rules? | Shelley 145 Who shall dare to say the deeds which night and fear brought forth? | Di Do 467 How shall it be prevented? What can I do? | Caine P 97 I must obey the law of my heart, and who shall judge me if I do that?

In all these *is to* would now be more idiomatic.

17.2(4). *Shall* also expresses necessity in the phrase: *it shall go hard but . . .:*

Lyly C 317 It shall goe hard but this peace shall bring vs some pleasure | Sh Gent I. 1.86 It shall goe hard but ile proue it | [three or four other places in Sh] | BJo A 324 It shall goe hard, but I will place thee some-where | Irving (NED) it shall go hard but I will make it afford them entertainment.—Note in all examples except the first the use of *will* as the future in the first person. In the following, too, we shall meet with other instances in which the two auxiliaries are found together in closely combined sentences: may it be that this is due to a desire for variation?

Volitional Obligation.

17.3. Next we come to those cases in which the obligation or constraint expressed by *shall* is due, not to fate, but to human will, either explicit or implicit. The reference is always to something in the future; cf. the way in which the infinitive after a certain class of verbs acquires futuric meaning (7.2).

17.3(1). The statement of the will is *explicit*: this is the case when *shall* is found in a content clause after some expression of determination, request, necessity, or certain expectation:

Sh R3 II. 2.141 and go we to determine Who they shall be that strait shall poste to London | Merch II. 4.30 she hath directed How I shall take her from her fathers house—[now rather *how I am to* . . .] | Swift P 52 I do likewise expect, that all my pupils shall drink my health every day at dinner | Sheridan 236 I am determined she shall have no cause to complain | Di Do 387 I would leave it to you to decide whether she shall know of it or not [= is to] | NP '09 they are inexorable in their determination that the white race shall remain distinct | Macaulay H 1.185 it is the law of our nature that such fits of excitement shall always be followed by remissions | Shaw IW 56 The very first condition of legal justice is that it shall be no respecter of persons; that it shall hold the balance impartially . . . and that no person shall be deprived of life or liberty except by the verdict of a jury.

Cf. the formula used to a witness (in U. S.: is the same used in England?) Hart BT 29 You do solemnly swear that the testimony that you shall give to the Court and jury in this case now on trial shall be truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

Cf. below on *should* after such expressions, 20.2(4).

17.3(2). We have *implicit* constraint in the following cases.

In the second and third persons *shall* most often serves to express that kind of obligation which is dependent on the speaker's will; according to the character of the sentiment expressed this 'I shall take care that such and such a thing comes to happen in future' becomes either a command, a threat or a promise (a threat is a promise of something disagreeable).

Commands, Threats, Promises.

17.4(1). Commands in the second person:

Sh Tp. I 2.462 Seawater shalt thou drinke: thy food shall be The fresh-brooke mussels | AV Matt 19.19 Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe | Doyle St 200 You shall rue it to the end of your days. The hand of the Lord shall be heavy upon you; he will arise and smite you.

Cf. Di F 406 "You shall sign a statement that it was all utterly false, and the poor girl shall have it." "'Shall' is summ'at of a hard word, Captain. When you say a man 'shall' sign this and that and t'other, Captain, you order him about in a grand sort of a way."

The threat is a mild one in Chesterton Thursd. 68 You must, you shall, join our special army against anarchy.

17.4(2). A negative command is a prohibition; but here *shall* is no more used; to the biblical *Thou shalt not kill* corresponds in modern idiomatic speech *You mustn't kill.* Cf. Sh Ven 710 Lye quietly . . . Nay do not struggle, for thou shalt not rise. In later use *you shan't* is less a prohibition than an assurance that, so far as it depends on the speaker, the other person will not succeed in doing this or that:

Goldsm 645 Mrs H. (detaining him) You shan't go | Sheridan 185 Positively, you shan't escape | Hope Z 122 I shall go to the summer-house.—I am hanged if you shall . . . And you shan't go. (Cf. Doyle S 2.231 below 17.4(3)) | Dane L 173 You can't do it. You shan't do it. By God you shan't.

Henley B 66 "That is all you know, and all *you shall know*" implies 'all I (shall) allow you to know'; similarly in Hewlett Q 221 You, that will not kiss my hand—nor shall not.

17.4(3). With promises in the second person it may seem strange to speak of constraint or obligation, for when

I promise "you shall have them (at) a bargain" there is no obligation on the part of the subject (you), but on the part of the speaker who is obliged to let the other man have them (at) a bargain. The transference, however, is a usual one in language: when we say "he ought to be punished", "he ought to suffer for it" or "it can be done", we do not ascribe duty or power to the subjects (he, it) of the two sentences; cf. below on *should* with passives, 20.2(2).

Sh H4A II. 1.100 Thou shalt haue a share in our purpose, as I am true man | ib IV. 3.49 You shall haue your desires, with interest | AV Matt 7.7 seeke, and ye shall finde | Sheridan 222 You shall have them a bargain | Byron Letter 29/9 19 I have been in a rage these two days. You shall hear | Di Do 194 You'll come to me to-morrow [command], and you shall be shown where that old gentleman lives | ib 355 you shall see me when I come back, if you are very good | ib 465 | Thack P 526 You shall have the money as soon as I can get it | Doyle S 2.231 You shall not find me ungrateful for what you have done.

If Byron in his letter had written "you will hear", he would have implied that the addressee would hear it some day independently of his (Byron's) will, whereas "you shall hear" means: I am going to tell you in this very letter. Cf. also "you shall be rewarded" (I will take care to have you rewarded) and "you will be rewarded" (independently of me).

Note the two expressions of volition in Sh Wiv II. 2.259 As I am a gentleman, you shall, if you will, enioy Fords wife.

17.4(4). Dependence on the will of the speaker is shown in various ways in Sh H4B V. 1.1 By cocke and pye, you shall not away to night . . . I will not excuse you: you shall not be excused. Excuses shall not be admitted: there is no excuse shall serue: you shall not be excus'd.

17.5(1). Threats in the third person:

Sh H4A V. 1.84 there is many a soule Shall pay full dearly for this encounter | Fielding T 2.50 Not one hapenny, not a hapenny, shall he ever have o' mine | Di Do 510 'She'll soon get better and she'll shame 'em all with her good looks—she will. I say she will! she shall!'—as if she were in passionate contention with some unseen opponent | GE A 407 it will be known—it shall be known that you stayed at my entreaty | Maxwell EG 159 I'm not going to ask—I'm going to make him give me an explanation. He shall hear—he shall hear. At least he shall understand that he cannot insult the ladies of my family with impunity . . . Yes, I will call him to account. He shall see.

17.5(2). Promises in the third person:

Sh H4A II. 4.598 the money shall be pay'd backe againe with advantage | AV Matt 7.7 Aske, and it shal be giuen you | Swift P 116 If ever I be marry'd, it shall be to an old man | Keats 5.156 if I am to recover, the day of my recovery shall see me by your side from which nothing shall separate me | Di Do 150 'I wish to have it done at once.' 'It shall be done immediately, sir' | ib 172 That's all on such a subject that shall pass my lips | ib 266 I have nothing to suggest. It shall be when you please [Edith's answer when asked to fix the day for the wedding] | ib 270 Leave her alone. She shall not, while I can interpose, be tampered with | Mill (in Fox 2.260) This is a long letter, full of nothing, but the next shall be better | Doyle B 73 It shall be found, sir—I promise you that if you will have a little patience it will be found | James S 83 And if the people say they're real?—'They won't say it! They shan't!' | Phillpotts GR 75 It shall not be thought I evade my obligations.

In Matt 6.33 But seeke ye first the kingdome of God . . . and all these things shal be added vnto you—the 20th CV does not think it necessary to express a promise, but gives the simple prediction: But first be eager about his kingdom . . . and then these things will be given you in addition.

17.5(3). Note the distinction between what is independent of the speaker's will *(must)* and what is dependent on it *(shall)*:

Cowper L 2.1 Since so it must be, So it shall be | Collins W 223 If the thing must be done, it *shall* be done.

17.5(4). A specially frequent case is the relative clause *who* (which, that) *shall be nameless* = 'whom I promise not to name', e. g.

Walton A 46 another of the company that shall be nameless | Congreve 244, Swift 3.252, Spect 144, Fielding T 4.229, Austen S 102, 170, Peacock M 214, Di N XXIII, Thack S 121, Doyle S 6.241 | Benson D 6 an old gentleman, who shall be nameless.

17.5(5). In Ch A 791 there are many *shall's* as expressions of the terms of a proposal ('verdit') or an agreement: That ech of yow . . . shal telle tales tweye . . . And homward he shal tellen othere two . . . And which of yow that bereth him best . . . Shal have a soper, cf. 806, 831, 834, 836.

Shall combined with *will.*

17.6. *Will* in the first person and *shall* in the second or third are very often combined as parts of the same promise (or threat):

Sh H4A V. 1.108 euery man Shall be my friend againe, and Ile be his | AV Ruth 1.16 for whither thou goest, I will goe; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God | Fielding T 2.157 I will fetch it you this instant, and you shall see! | Di F 406 You shall sign a statement . . . I will bring it with me for your signature, when I come again | Kingsley H 130 I will be silent; you shall never see me | Tenn 102 I will take some savage woman, she shall rear my dusky race . . . they shall dive, and they shall run | Bennett B 89 Marry me, and I will save your life. All shall be well. I will begin again | Caine M 236 "Let her see more company", said the doctor.—"She shall", said Pete. "If that doesn't do, send her away for a while." "I will."

Molloy (p. 95) calls attention to the fact that in advertisements about lost property two auxiliaries are regularly used, according as the reward or finder is made the subject: *A reward will be given* |

The finder shall receive a reward. His explanation is not quite convincing: the reason seems to be that a promise is given to a person, but not to a thing (the reward).

Questions.

17.7(1). *Shall* is used in questions, if the answer one expects is one containing *shall* as expression of command, injunction or advice.

Stoffel mentions the use of *shall* in questions like "When shall the prisoners be tried?" asked of the man who has the decision in his hands: "*Shall* asks after the will, *will* after the opinion of the person addressed". But this use of *shall* is rare in the third person; cf. however the familiar "What shall it be?" = 'What kind of drink do you want?' (indirect in Meredith H 4) | When shall the wedding be? [asked of the person who is to decide] | NP how shall the white race exercise its mastery?

But in most cases *is to* is now the idiomatic phrase, as also in Ch A 500 That if gold ruste, what shal iren do?

An example of *shall* in an indirect question is Beerbohm Seven Men 181 I am unable to begin a piece of writing before I know just how it shall end.

17.7(2). *Shall I?* generally means 'do you want (or advise) me to . . .?' (now the same thing is frequently expressed by *am I to . . .*); very frequently the continuation . . . *or will you* . . . shows that the question is really about the will of the person addressed:

Sh Ven 586 shall we meete to morrow, Say, shall we? shall we? wilt thou make the match? | H4A II. 4.94 shall I let them in? | Swift P 161 Shall I help you to some cheese? or will you carve for yourself? | RoR Oct '99 Shall we let Hell loose in South Africa? | Barrie MO 77 Will you take care of it, or shall I? | Hope D 5 Now, shall I take you in hand [= do you want me . . .].

Thus also when a person in utter uncertainty addresses an imaginary person: What shall I do? Which way shall I turn? [now also, and more frequently: am I to . . .].

"What *shall* I do? with extra stress on *shall* expresses helplessness or perplexity" (Sweet § 2202).

17.7(3). This *shall* is even found in questions tacked on to sentences with *will* (so as to avoid the form *will I*, *will we*):

Sh Tw II. 5.12 we will foole him blacke and blew, shall we not sir Andrew? | Mitford OV 207 But we will come nutting again some time or other—shall we not, my May? | Brontë P 164 I'll tell you what I like best to do, shall I? | GE M 2.152 I will bring you the book, shall I, Miss Tulliver? | ead Mm 222 We will go to him in the parlour, shall we? | Bennett RS 88 I'll take this upstairs now, shall I, m'm? | Rose Macaulay P 247 we'll have a great time . . . we'll have adventures. We'll go exploring, shall we?

17.7(4). It is also used after other forms of invitation or solicitation:

Bennett LR 269 Let's sit down, shall we? | id P 83 suppose we go and have a look at the car, shall we?

In such sentences *we* is an inclusive first person plural, cf. above 15.6(4) and 16.3(1).

For another meaning of *shall I (we)?* see below 18.7.

Chapter XVIII.

Shall Concluded.

Pure Future.

18.1(1). We next come to *shall* as the expression of future time without the tinge of obligation or constraint, though we might very often say that the underlying idea is that of fatal necessity or the will of God as determining the future.

Here it will be convenient first to mention the biblical use of *shall*, which goes back to Wycliff's practice of rendering the Latin future tense by *shall*, while he uses *will* to translate the present tense of Latin *volo.* The use in the old Biblical versions has been carefully investigated by Augusta Björling, *Studies in the Grammar of the Early Printed Engl. Bible Versions,* Lund 1926, p. 116 ff. "Except in Bi [i. e. The holy Byble 1575], which obviously favours *will, shall* is regularly used in all three persons to express futurity. In the Gospel according to St. Matthew in the late Wycliffite Version the Latin future of the Vulgate is, on Blackburn's statement, rendered by *shall* 322 times, and by *will* only twice". Miss Björling's investigation thoroughly confirms Blackburn's view, which she quotes in full. As, however, Chaucer's practice favours *will* as expression for the future (with inanimate as well as with animate subjects), much more than the bibles do, these do not seem reliable witnesses as to the actual usage of those times, but probably show only that it was the practice at school in translating Latin futures always to use *shall.* But on the other hand this biblical usage undoubtedly exercised a powerful influence on literary style, especially in serious and solemn writings.

Solemn Predictions.

18.1(2). Examples of *shall* in the third person in solemn predictions of the future (what some grammarians term '*prophetic shall*'):

Mandeville 110 In Chorosaym schalle Antecrist be born, . . . Out of Babiloyne schal come a worm, that schal devoure alle the world | Sh H8 V. 5.21 She [Elisabeth] shall be . . . A patterne to all princes liuing with her, And all that shall succeed: Saba was neuer More couetous of wisedome . . . Then this pure soule shall be. All princely graces . . . Shall still be doubled on her. Truth shall nurse her . . . She shall be lou'd and fear'd. Her owne shall blesse her, etc. | AV Matt 24.5 many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ: and shall deceiue many . . . For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdome against kingdome, and there shall be famines, and pestilences . . . Then shall they deliuer you vp to be afflicted, and shall kill you, etc. [in all these the 20th C. V. has *will*] | Moore: Erin! thy silent tear never shall cease, Erin! thy languid smile ne'er shall increase [promise?] | By 643 universe by universe Shall tremble in the balance, till the great Conflict shall cease, if ever it shall cease, Which it ne'er shall, till he or I be quenched! | Merriman S 70 the Wandering Jew, who shall never die, who shall leave cholera in his track wherever he may wander | Kipling: Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet.

The frequent use in Carlyle's works of *shall*, where *will* would nowadays be more natural, is probably due to biblical reminiscences of this 'prophetic *shall*', combined, perhaps, with a reaction against the native propensity of a Scotchman to use *will* in many cases where *shall* is considered more correct.

18.1(3). The modern disuse of *shall* in (solemn) expressions of the future is seen in Matt 5.4 AV Blessed are they that mourne: for they shall be comforted . . . Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God = 20th C. V. Happy are the sorrowful for it is they who will be comforted . . . Happy are the pure in heart, for it is they who will see God | 2 Tim 4.1 AV Iesus Christ, who shall iudge the quicke and the dead = 20th C. V. who will one day judge the living and the dead [*one day* is added to show mere futurity, not volition].

18.1(4). Examples of this solemn *shall* in the second person:

AV Luke 1.31 And behold, thou shalt conceiue in thy wombe, and bring forth a sonne, and shalt call his name Iesus (in 20th C. V. Listen, you will become a mother and will give birth to a son, whom you are to call by the name of Jesus) | Di F 813 be it what it may, you shall see no such individual drunkards on doorsteps anywhere, as there [at Covent Garden]. Of dozing women-drunkards especially, you shall come upon such specimens there, in the morning sunlight, as you might seek out of doors in vain through London.

18.1(5). Other examples of archaic *shall*, which would now be *will:*

Sh Ant II. 3.16 whose fortunes shall rise higher, Cæsars or mine? | As I. 1.136 hee that escapes me without some broken limbe, shall acquit him well | H4B II. 2.104 If you do not make him be hang'd among you, the gallowes shall be wrong'd | Cowper L 2.14 These are all so many happy omens, that I hope shall be verified by the event.

Related Uses.

18.2(1). The following employments of *shall* as a pure auxiliary of the future are more or less independent of the solemn archaic or prophetic use. *Shall* is sometimes preferred when the future is expressly contrasted with the present or past (generally *is to come*):

AV Ec 1.9 The thing that hath beene, it is that which shall be: and that which is done, is that which shall be done | Shelley P 73 man is a being of high aspirations . . . existing but in the future and the past; being, not what he is, but what he has been and shall be | ib 116 we express our conception of the diversities of its course by—it has been, it is, it shall be | Ru S 68 the only holy or Mother Church which ever was, or ever shall be.

Similarly we sometimes find the relative clause *who (that) shall be* instead of the more familiar *that is to be:*

Sher 64 there he is—your husband that shall be | Mrs Browning A 125 she has sent me to find a cousin of mine Who shall be | ib 246 my wife That shall be in a month. A few more examples are given in vol. III 8.2$_1$ and 8.2$_2$.

18.2(3). *Shall* is comparatively frequent after such expressions as *the time will come* (for the sake of variation?):

Sh H4B III. 1.75 The time shall come (thus did hee follow it) The time will come, that foule sinne gathering head Shall breake into corruption | AV Matt 9.15 But the dayes will come when the bridegrome shall bee taken from them, and then shall they fast (in 20th C. V. three *will*'s) | Spect 170 the period will come about in Eternity, when the human soul shall be as perfect as he himself now is | Johnson R 91 the time will surely come, when death will be no longer our torment, and no man shall be wretched but by his own fault | Shelley P 92 there will come a time when the human mind shall be visited exclusively by the influences of the benignant Power.

18.3(1). In a main sentence *you shall* is sometimes used (half archaically) so as to imply a condition of a following sentence.

Sh Oth IV. 1.289 You shall obserue him, And his owne courses will denote him so [= if you observe . . .] | Merch I. 1.116 his reasons are two graines of wheate hid in two bushels of chaffe: you shall seeke all day ere you finde them | Di D 321 in that same Doctors' Commons. You shall go there one day, and find them blundering through half the nautical terms in Young's Dictionary . . . and you shall go there another day, and find them deep in the evidence, pro and con, respecting a clergyman who has misbehaved himself [i. e. if you go . . . you will find].

18.3(2). Similarly in the third person:

AV Luke 14.5 Which of you shall haue an asse or an oxe fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on a sabbath day? [= who will not, if he has . . .] | Thack N 235 A company of old comrades shall be merry and laughing together, and the entrance of a single youngster will stop the conversation.

18.3(3). In Huxley LS 65 f. there is an interesting (literary) collection of *shall*'s denoting what must be as a consequence of existing conditions [or is the idea that the writer promises this as sure to happen?], and *will*'s as pure expressions of the future: [at school] you shall toil . . . you shall not learn one single thing of all those you will most want to know . . . You will in all probability go into business, but you shall not know where any article of commerce is produced . , . You will very likely settle in a colony, but you shall not know whether Tasmania is part of New South Wales . . . You will very likely get into the House of Commons. You will have to take your share in making laws . . . But you shall not hear one word respecting the political organisation of your own country, etc.

Conditional, Relative and Temporal Clauses.

18.4(1). *Shall* to denote futurity is rare after *if (unless)*, because the simple present tense (formerly in the subjunctive) is here more usual and quite sufficient (cf. 2.5):

Sh Alls V. 3.125 If you shall proue This ring was euer hers, you shall as easie Proue that I . . . | Macaulay (q) I shall be much surprised if the right honourable Baronet shall be able to point out any distinction between the cases.

18.4(2). In relative clauses (chiefly generic) *shall* is frequently used to denote futurity. The reason is that *will* is apt to be misunderstood as denoting volition. This *shall* is, however, somewhat stiff or pedantic, and the present tense is more idiomatic:

Sh Hml I. 2.249 And whatsoeuer els shall hap to night, Giue it an vnderstanding, but no tongue | AV Matt 5.19 Whosoeuer therfore shall breake one of these least commaundements, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heauen: but whosoeuer shall doe, and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdome of heauen (= 20th C. V. Any one therefore who breaks . . . any one who acts up to them) | ib 10.32 Whosoeuer therefore shall confesse mee before men, him will I confesse also before my father . . . But whosoeuer shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my father | Defoe R 102 no one, that shall ever read this account, will expect . . . | ib 113 I add this part to hint to whoever shall read it | Johnson R 73 he that shall walk with vigour three hours a day, will pass in seven years a space equal to the circumference of the globe | Fielding T 4.333 Can the man who shall be in possession of these be inconstant? | ib 334 I will never marry a man who shall not learn refinement enough | Shelley Pr 294 whatever advantage shall accrue from it will belong to you | Macaulay H 1.47 Whoever shall now compare the country round Rome with the country round Edinburgh, will be able to form some judgement as to the tendency of Papal domination | Brontë V 385 You will answer, to the best of your ability, such questions as they shall put. You will also write on such theme as they shall select | Di Do 452 I'll slip those after him that shall talk too much | Ru Sel 1.226 we must trust God and the sea, and take what they shall send | Trollope B 499 the woman who shall reject him, will have rejected him once and for all | Kipl J 2.35 and the wolf that shall keep it [the law] may prosper, but the wolf that shall break it must die | (Brit. Mus.) Permission to use the Reading Room will be withdrawn from any person who shall write on any part of a book belonging to the Museum.

In many of these sentences the relative clause is implicitly a conditional one, as is particularly evident in a case like Sh H4A I. 3.90 I shall neuer hold that man my friend, whose tongue shall aske me for a peny cost.

18.4(3). *Shall* is frequently used to denote futurity in temporal clauses introduced by *when*, *till*, *so long as*, etc., a condition being often implied; nowadays the simple present tense is preferred to the more formal *shall*:

Marl E 850 What will he do when as he shall be present? | Sh Oth III. 3.318 shee'l run mad When she shall lacke it | Matt 5.11 AV Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you = 20th C.V. Happy are you whenever people abuse you | Cowper L 2.271 I have asked him hither, when my cousin Johnson shall leave us, which will be in about a fortnight | Wordsw P 5.25 and yet man, As long as he shall be the child of earth, Might almost weep | ib 5.505 something . . . will live till man shall be no more | Shelley 622 Unlike this day, which, when the sun Shall on its stainless glory set, Will linger | Keats 5.78 When your boy shall be twenty, ask him about his childish troubles | Lamb E 2.186 he will come to know it, whenever he shall arrive in that state, in which reason shall only visit him through intoxication | Rossetti 300 How may I, when he shall ask, Tell him who lies there? | Di Do 485 When the silent tomb shall yawn, I shall be ready for burial | Thack P 43 whiling away the time with light literature until his friend shall arrive | ib 497 A man who thinks of putting away a composition for ten years before he shall give it to the world . . . had best be very sure of the original strength and durability of the work | Trollope O 10 I have asked her to come in among us for a few days, till the funeral shall be over | Stevenson JHF 94 When this shall fall into your hands, I shall have disappeared | Merriman S 27 playing with fire—a form of amusement which will be popular as long as feminine curiosity shall last.

18.4(4). The same use of *shall* before a perfect infinitive (to express the 'before-future'); the idiomatic expression now is the simple perfect:

Cowper L 2.64 Soon after you shall have entered Olney, you will find an opening on your right hand | Tenn 99 He will hold thee, when his passion shall have spent its novel force | Hawth S 183 woman cannot take advantage of these reforms, until she herself shall have undergone a still mightier change | Sinclair R 260 armies will continue to exist, long after war shall have become a nightmare memory [= after war has become].

It is rare to find the simple infinitive instead of the perfect infinitive in a temporal clause: Mary Shelley F 204 I will confide this tale to you the day after our marriage shall take place | Norris O 143 you tell me that sometime after I shall die too, somewhere in Heaven I shall see her again.

First Person.

18.5(1). *I (we) shall* comes to be the natural auxiliary of the future, because *I (we) will* is so frequently needed to express volition on the part of the speaker, and because in most cases when one has occasion to speak of the future with regard to oneself, the implication is of some more or less fatal necessity:

I shall come of age next year | we shall be forgotten long before the end of the century | Sh H4B I. 1.136 For this I shall haue time enough to mourne.

Shall may be emphasized: I don't know when I shall die, but I do know that I *shall* die some day.

When the necessity is to be specially emphasized, *I shall have to* is the ordinary expression in PE: Wilde P 38 one of the things I shall have to teach myself is not to be ashamed of it.

I'll have to is quoted above 16.3(6) from Sutro Choice 50.

18.5(2). A conditional clause is often appended to *I (we) shall*:

We shall get wet through if the rain does not stop soon | I shall be punished if I am caught | we shall miss the train unless we take a taxi.

18.5(3). *Shall* in the first person combined with *will* in the third to express futurity is seen, for instance in

Dickinson S 38 We shall pass and a new generation will succeed us | Benson D 16 I shall be immensely happy as his wife, and he will be immensely happy as my husband.

18.5(4). When a future state of one's own feelings is to be mentioned, *I shall* is the natural expression, because one does not like to imply that they depend on one's will:

I shall feel very sorry when he dies | Ch A 1183 Love if thee list; for I love and ay shall | Di F 344 I shall always be happy to execute any commands you may have | Wilde P 123 when I go out I shall always remember great kindnesses that I have received here from almost everybody.

Note, however, the modern tendency to use *I will* in some combinations (16.3(5)).

18.5(5). *I shall* is required nowadays if the speaker introduces any word that implies doubt or uncertainty about the future event (Molloy 18): *Perhaps I shall* go abroad next summer. In this case the speaker either has not made up his mind yet, or if he has, he still feels that the going abroad depends on many other things besides his own present will. The reluctance seen in this case to speak too much of one's own will was not found to the same extent in ElE, see e. g.

Sh Err IV. 1.39 Perchance I will be there as soone as you | Oth V. 2.197 Perchance, Iago, I will ne're go home | Merch II. 5.52 Perhaps I will returne immediately.—Sh only once has the modern idiom: Hml I. 5.171 As I perchance heereafter shall thinke meet To put an anticke disposition on.

18.5(6). After *I hope*, *fear*, *doubt*, etc. *I shall* must always be used:

I hope I shall see you again | I am afraid I shall be arrested | I do not know whether I shall enter for the race. "It is plain that the speaker does not mean to convey that he is in doubt, in fear, or in hope, about the present state of his own will; but rather that he is in doubt, in hope, or in fear, about the future event . . . there is hardly any particular in which the English idiom is more frequently transgressed by speakers who are not English by birth or education" (Molloy 40).

Note, however, Walpole W 224 And now I hope that we will meet often (Cf. *will* for *shall* in other quotations from the same writer). Molloy gives as his first example

"I think I shall go to town", but here surely *I will (I'll)* is perfectly natural even to those speakers who are strict in their use of *shall.*

Shall and will together.

18.6(1). When a future event is determined by the speaker's present will, both *shall* and *will* may be employed; in certain circumstances *I shall* is stronger than *I will*:

I shall never forgive him—which implies that it is not only my present will, but that this will be carried into effect | I sha'n't do it! | Sher 61 I have told you my resolution!—I shall not only give him no encouragement, but I won't even speak to, or look at him | Stevenson JHF 82 I shall make it my business to see that you are no loser | Henley B 69 I am come upon a visit to a lady. That visit I shall pay | I sha'n't be a minute; but "I won't be a minute" is a promise.

In answer to "[Do] tell me" both *I won't tell you* and *I sha'n't tell you* are felt to be wanting in politeness; so *I'm not going to tell you* is preferable.

"The emphatic *I 'shall do it* expresses determination, as if the speaker meant to imply that his will was so strong as to become a purely objective force" (Sweet § 2202).

18.6(2). The contrast between *I shall* as a mere sign of the future and *I will* as implying volition is well brought out in Stoffel's example: (highwaymen speaking) We will kill him, and then we shall see whether he has any money or not. Cf. also Di F 448 I do not like him, and I will never marry him | I love him, but I am afraid I shall never marry him. In the following quotations the force of both auxiliaries is pretty clear:

Sh H4A III. 3.5 Ile repent . . . I shall be out of heart shortly, and then I shall haue no strength to repent | Swift J 376 and now I'll go sleep if I can; that is, I believe I shall, because I have drank a little | Fielding T 4.199 you will believe everything I have said; and when you have heard the true story which I shall tell you (for I will tell you all) you will be far from being offended | Thack V 12 I shall always be your friend, and love you as a sister—indeed I will | Walpole SC 373 I will never see him again if that's what you wish, but I shall always love him | Norris P 13 I shall look into that to-morrow. Yes, sir; don't you be afraid of that. I'll look into it | James A 1.192 I'll take care of you; I shall know what you need | Lewis MA 57 I shall pray you'll be happy—oh, I'll pray so hard! | Russell Anal. of Mind 29 I shall discuss this question at length in a later lecture; for the present I will only observe that it is by no means simple | Letter '29 I do not know if I shall find a publisher, in which case [i. e. if I don't] I will publish myself.

But sometimes, when the two auxiliaries are found close together it is difficult to discover any difference: Sh Cæs V. 1.117 If we do meete againe, why we shall smile . . . If we do meete againe, wee'l smile indeede | Van Druten, Young Woodley 71 if you get him expelled, I'll leave you . . . If you do this, I shall leave you, for good.—Cf. above 16.2[?] on the increasing frequency of *I will* where no volition is meant.

18.6(3). There is some difficulty when two subjects of different person are joined by means of *(n)or*:

Kingsley H 45 either it [the Christian faith] or I shall perish [= either it will . . . or I shall] | Cowper L 2.100 neither Mrs. Unwin nor myself shall have so conducted ourselves [note ourselves] | Butler ER 249 a good deal that neither you nor we shall like.

In these sentences *shall* is used by attraction to the subject mentioned last. Cf. also Sweet's rule, above 16.3.

But *will* is used in *Neither of us will escape.*

Questions in the First Person.

18.7(1). *Shall I?* (besides the use mentioned in 17.7) may be a question about some future event, the question being very often accompanied with *do you know?* or *do you think?* Thus in the question to the doctor: Shall I ever recover? or, Shall I be able to get up next week?

Shelley 410 And then we'll talk;—what shall we talk about? [= What is it likely that we . . .?] | Wilde W 45 Shall I never see you again? | Herrick M 177 Shall I disturb you? [= will it disturb you if I remain] | Galsw TL 235 As a people shall we ever really like the French? Will they ever really like us? | Walpole W 180 we'll none of us come back until we're sent for—shall we, Cecilia? | Shall I get there in time if I take the 3.20 train?

Thus also in rhetorical questions, meaning really what would be expressed by an answer in the negative:

AV Psalm 27.1 The Lord is my light: whome shal I feare? [= I shall fear nobody] | Sher Riv. IV. 1 What, shall I disgrace my ancestors? | Cowper L 2.66 Shall we not both enjoy it?

18.7(2). A curious case is the following, in which we have a 'question raised to the second power':

Hope Z 159 "And when will you be back?"—"When shall I be back?" I repeated [= do you ask when I shall be back?] | Maxwell F 69 If your husband dies some day or other, what will you do? "What shall I do? How do you mean?" "I mean, will you and Cyril marry then?" "Of course we shall."

Questions in the Second Person.

17.7(3). *Shall you?* from asking about an obligation has in strict language come to be a question about the pure future, distinct from *will you?*, which is, or at any rate may be, a question about the other person's will or willingness. This is, perhaps, most natural where the future is independent of the will of the person addressed:

Shall you get there in time if you take the 3.20 train? | Shall you see John today? [i. e. Will John come to your place?] | Mered H 284 Shall you always love me? | Norris P 224 [U. S.!] And shall you go back?

18.7(4). But the use of *shall you?* is extended to other cases where the future is not wholly independent of, or even may be wholly dependent on, the will of the person spoken to, but where, nevertheless, it is the future and not the will that the speaker wants to make certain about; thus very often where *will you?* would be understood as a request:

Shall you be in if I call in the afternoon? | Shall you dine with us on Tuesday? [I have invited you already, but don't know, or have forgotten, your reply] | Hope C 37 Shall you stay at all in Paris? [= Does your travelling plan include a stay in Paris?] | Austen M 13 When shall you do it?

It should be noted that in all these cases the natural reply to *shall you?* is *I shall*, though this can hardly be the reason why *shall* is preferred in the question.

18.7(5). This *shall* also occurs in dependent questions like the following:

Austen E 76 have you thought where you shall put her? | Di Do 64 How do you think you shall like me?

18.7(6). *Shall you?* even occurs in questions tacked on to sentences containing *you will*, although of course the natural tendency is always to repeat the same auxiliary (Sweet gives: you'll be there, won't you?):

Austen M 107 I daresay you will have no objection to join us in a rubber; shall you? | GE M 1.218 You won't like me to go to school with Wakems son, shall you? | ib 2.153 You will like Maggie, shan't you? | ib 2.201 you will like to play, shan't you?

C. C. Fries (PMLA 1925, p. 1002) gives statistics of *will you?* and *shall you?* in a number of plays and concludes that "The common statement regarding second person questions, for example in the NED, that in the second person 'in categorical questions' *shall* is 'normal', is according to these figures, plainly inadequate. Of the 512 questions in the second person but 7 or 1.3 % use *shall*; all the rest employ *will*".—The small number of *shall you*'s is certainly astonishing; but isn't the explanation the natural one that in ordinary conversations there is much more occasion to ask about the second person's will than about what is going to happen to him in future? The NED of course means only that *shall* is normal in questions that do not ask about the will of the person addressed, while Fries lumps together all questions in the second person. Cf. above 17.7(4) on the interpretation of some of Fries's examples.

18.8(1). *I (we) shall* with the perfect infinitive serves to express the before-future, in the same way as *will* with she same infinitive (16.6):

Osborne 123 I shall in a short time have disengaged my self of all my little affaires | Di D 724 what I have to do is not to gossip on all the hopeful circumstances, or I shall never have done | Haggard S 26 when you open this, if you ever live to do so, you will have attained to manhood, and I shall have been long dead | Hardy R 358 By that time I shall have begun to have had enough of it | Kaye Smith HA 319 I've managed to keep the family quiet till after the funeral, by which time I shall have the details settled.

This before-future is contrasted with the ordinary perfect in Strachey EV 225 What I shall have done will be what I have done.

18.8(2). In temporal clauses this *shall* with the perfect infinitive to express the before-future is frequent, but only in literary style; it is more natural to leave out the formal indication of the future and use the simple perfect (5.6(3)):

Roister 20 it will be starke nyght before I shall have done | Sh Hml IV. 6.13 When thou shall haue ouerlook'd this, giue these fellowes some meanes to the King | AV Luke 17.10 So likewise ye, when ye shal haue done all those things which are commanded you, say . . . [20th C. V.: when you have done all you have been told, still say] | Cowper L 2.20 Before I shall have finished my letter, Mrs. Unwin will have taken a view of the house | ib 2.218 he sleeps under our roof and will be gone in the morning before I shall have seen him | Scott Iv 381 bid him come hither, as soon as he shall have spoken with W. | Hawthorne Sn 58 after this fair flower shall have decayed other flowers will appear | Shaw 1W 386 Long after Capitalism as we know it shall have passed away . . . there may be more men and women working privately . . . || Bennett RS 238 the words won't be out of his mouth before I shall be gone.

Will and Shall. Conclusions.

18.9(1). After this survey of the various uses of *will* and *shall*, in which we have treated last those cases in which the original meanings of volition and obligation are most effaced and the auxiliaries thus serve to express future time pure and simple, it will be appropriate to draw our conclusions and to deal with the various expressions of future time as far as English verbs are concerned, and raise the question: Should we recognize a Future Tense in English?

The question of *will* and *shall* as auxiliaries of the future has been treated at great length by various writers in separate monographs, and, of course, very helpfully in such grammars as those of Mätzner, Koch, Sweet, Poutsma, Franz, Wendt, Kruisinga, and in dictionaries, best of all, of course, in the NED. I mention some of the most important treatments.

Sir Edmund Head, "*Shall*" *and* "*Will*", 2nd ed. London 1858.

G. Molloy, *The Irish Difficulty, Shall and Will.* London 1897 (much fuller and better than Head's book).

C. Stoffel in the Dutch periodical *Taalstudie*, vols. II, III and V.

G. O. Curme, "Has English a Future Tense?" in *Journal of Engl. and Germ. Philol.* 12, 515, 1913 (tries to make out that American English has worked out nicer distinctions than Southern English and especially than Scotch and Irish, see 16.3(7)).

Ph. Aronstein, "*Shall* und *Will* zum ausdrucke der idealität im englischen", in *Anglia* 41, 10 and 301 ff., 1917 (very valuable on the whole).

Charles C. Fries, "The Periphrastic Future with *shall* and *will* in Modern English", in PMLA 40. 963 ff., 1925 (much sound criticism of previous views and full statistics from English and American dramatic literature: in the latter the writer has "attempted to follow a method of investigation which should be as objective as possible", i. e. has examined the frequency of the two verbs "without imposing upon the words any specific meanings or rules as a basis for interpretation"; thus we learn how many times each of them occurs in each grammatical person, in independent statement, or question, or subordinate clause. But in syntax meaning is everything, and a classing together of all occurrences of *will*, whether the meaning of volition is obvious, or is excluded on account of the context, or may be doubtful, really obscures the issue, see 18.7(6). Cf. the same writer's article, "The Expression of the Future", in the periodical *Language* 3.87 ff., 1927.

W. F. Luebke, "The Analytic Future in Contemporary American Fiction" (*Mod. Philology* 26. 451 ff., 1929) supplements Fries's article.

R. E. Zachrisson, "Grammatical Changes in Present-Day English" (*Studier i modern språkvetenskap* 7. 24 ff., 1920).

T. Dahl, "Shall and Will, Some Remarks on Present-Day Usage" (in *A Grammatical Miscellany*, with which he and others honoured me on the 16. July 1930), a careful collection and analysis of examples from English prose published in 1929, arranged according to persons and I volition, II volition-futurity, III futurity— a) the will of the speaker, b) the will of the person addressed, c) the will of a third person or agency.

I have based the preceding chapters chiefly on the quotations I have been collecting for many years, though I have, of course, learnt much from my predecessors.

18.9(2). Has English a future tense in the same sense as, say, Latin or French has one? Obviously this question is not the same thing as asking whether English is capable of expressing futurity—which no one could doubt for a moment—but is more restricted: is it justifiable to give, as many grammars do, a paradigm of the combinations with *shall* and *will* as a 'tense' to be compared with the preterit or the perfect? The paradigm usually given is

1. *I shall write.*
2. *You will write—Shall you write?*
3. *He will write.*

Though this involves the distinction in the second person of one form used in statements and another in interrogations—a distinction which one is not accustomed to meet with in grammatical paradigms—it is obvious from the facts discussed in the preceding pages that matters are not so simple as that, and that such a paradigm cannot do justice to all the complications in the use of these two auxiliaries. These complications arise from the simple fact that neither *shall* nor *will* has *everywhere and in every combination* lost the original meaning of obligation and volition, respectively.

I hope that these expressions are clear enough to refute those critics who have interpreted my necessarily very short and imperfect treatment of the question in *The Philosophy of Grammar*, as if I had there said that *shall* and *will always* retained something of their original force (Sonnenschein, and partly Tolkien). If instead of quoting (*The Year's Work in English Studies*, 1924, p. 28) only one line of what I say of *shall* on p. 50, Tolkien had reprinted the following lines as well, he might have seen that much of what he says on the following page cannot really be urged against me. This will be even more obvious after the present chapters, which I may be allowed to say were in the main written as far back as 1914, though I have now supplemented and rearranged what I then wrote and delivered as lectures.

As Molloy saw clearly (p. 109), the English have been for centuries struggling to express the *three* distinct ideas of obligation, volition, and simple futurity by means of only *two* auxiliary verbs, whereas German has three, *sollen*, *wollen*, and *werden*. Dutch and the Scandinavian languages are in the same boat as English, and the struggle has led to different results in each case. In English it seemed at one time as if *shall* were to become the prevailing auxiliary of simple futurity, as *zal* has become practically in Dutch: if this had been carried through, the result would have been comparable with that of the Romanic languages where the combination of infinitive with *habeo*, corresponding at first to E. *have to*, has lost the meaning of obligation altogether. But this tendency to favour *shall* was stronger in literary than in colloquial language, and at any rate we see that since Elizabethan times the tendency has been to make more and more use of *will* to express simple futurity, a tendency that is especially strong in Irish, Scotch and American. How are we now to account for these shifting uses of the two auxiliaries?

18.9(3). An explanation which seems to go back in the first instance to Grimm, but has since been repeated by Bain and other grammarians, sees the reason for *shall* in the first and *will* in the other persons in English courtesy or modesty: the speaker does not like to ascribe future events to his own will, but is polite enough to speak of some one else's will as decisive of the future. But are English people really more polite than other nations? And what has courtesy to do with the use in "the weather will be fine" and "if the weather should be fine, we should go out for a row" and with innumerable similar sentences?

Aronstein sees in E. *I shall do* an expression of the fatalism or feeling of dependence that is characteristic of the middle ages: this form survived in its original British home, where the tradition was strong, while it had to give way to *I will* when the language was extended to new countries, because *I will* corresponds better to modern feelings (dem modernen empfinden mehr angemessenen *I will*, Anglia 41.24). There is that element of truth in this view that tradition is stronger in England than in the other countries; but the connexion with a supposed medieval fatalism seems rather doubtful. In the second and third persons Aronstein (p. 29) finds in Elizabethan English two distinct futures which are kept strictly apart, while later usage has partly lost these fine nuances: an 'objective' future with *will* in which there is no question of will, but the future action is represented as certain, and a 'subjective' future with *shall*, expressing dependence on fate or on a third person, a request (eine forderung) or merely an opinion or a feeling. This nice distinction was lost through the general advance of rationalism at the cost of nicely discriminating imagination, assisted by the conscious analyzing of language by grammarians. Though many of Aronstein's remarks are striking, I must confess to skepticism both with regard to the subtle discriminations of the Elizabethans and to the explanations from national or historical psychology.

Sweet thinks that the fluctuation between *will* and *shall* was at first unmeaning, but that the present use seems to be the result of a desire to keep the original meanings of these verbs as much as possible in the background. But had people a clear conscience of what had been the original meaning of these verbs? And if they had, why should they desire to keep it in the background?

Poutsma (II. 2.224) thinks it futile to lay down any psychological principle to account for the varied and variable practice and therefore ascribes the present usage of the auxiliaries of the future tense, in the main, to the dictates of an inscrutable convention.

Prof. Krapp, in his *Comprehensive Guide to Good English* (1927) speaks of *shall* and *will* as "the great bugaboo of the English language", but when he goes on to say that "the difficulty in the use of *shall* and *will* arises from the fact that colloquial practice, even good colloquial practice, does not closely accord with the prescriptions of grammarians, rhetoricians, and lexicographers", he does not look deeply enough for an explanation. (See also his previous treatments of the question in *Modern English*, 1909, p. 293 ff., *The Engl. Language in America*, 1925, vol. 2, p. 264 ff.) The rules of grammarians are not such arbitrary inventions as he seems to think: the innermost reason for the difficulties grammarians have felt in formulating clear and easy rules for the use of these auxiliaries, is the uncertainty people always feel in speaking of the future as compared with the certainty with which we are able to speak of many events in the past; hence the various more or less unsettled ways whereby many languages find expressions for the future, see PG 260 ff. English has not developed one single means of denoting the future in connexion with its verbs, but uses various makeshift expressions, each with its own colouring, which is not equally pronounced in all combinations. Hence it has only approximations to a real 'future tense', and in examining the actual facts of the language the following points of view must be taken into consideration.

18.9(4). A future event may be looked upon as dependent on, or independent of, human will, and when the question arises, Whose will?, a distinction must be made between the will of the speaker and that of the subject of the sentence: these are identical in the case of the first person, but not in the second and third persons. In many of the preceding sections we have therefore stated different rules according to the grammatical person of the subject; further complications arise from the shiftings of persons in indirect speech, which have been set apart for separate treatment (Ch. XXI).

Sometimes, also, we must take into consideration the distinction between a living being and something lifeless as denoted by the word which is subject of the sentence.

Questions do not always follow the same rules as assertions (non-interrogatory sentences) and sometimes take the same auxiliary as the presumable answer.

Negative sentences do not always conform to positive statements.

We must further consider the influence which emotions such as determination, diffidence, modesty, etc., exert on linguistic expressions.

Finally various parts of the English-speaking world have developed different usages in this respect, and we must especially notice divergencies between British usage on the one hand, and Irish, Scotch, and American (Australian?) usage on the other.

It has been my endeavour to disentangle the skein produced by all these heterogeneous strands. I say very little of the Old and Middle English periods, though in them the foundations were laid for the Modern English development, which forms the subject of this grammar.

18.9(5). Now I think most of the complicated uses can be satisfactorily explained as a result of the following factors:

the uncertainty of future events;
the impossibility of expressing the three notions of volition, obligation and futurity by means of only two auxiliary verbs;
the difficulty of keeping these three notions apart, and the vagueness of the ideas of volition (willingness, determination, etc.) and obligation (restraint, necessity, etc.);
the ascription of will to lifeless things;
the natural linguistic tendency to extend grammatical means outside their proper sphere; and, especially,
the two powerful linguistic agencies, the desire for ease and the desire for clearness.

Linguistic ease may be phonetic or syntactic. Phonetic ease is furthered when inconspicuous and easily pronounced forms are adapted to the function of grammatical 'empty' words; but this is better fulfilled with *will* than with *shall:* for while we have no example of the sound [ʃ] being dropped in weak positions, the sound [w] tends to disappear in weak syllables, cf. such words as *answer*, *Southwark*, *hap'orth*, *Greenwich*, *hussy* from *huswife*, etc., I. 7.32; thus *I will*, *he will*, *we will*, *he would*, etc., naturally become the convenient forms *I'll*, *he'll*, *we'll*, *he'd*, etc. It is wrong from the point of view of linguistic history to say that "as the abbreviation *'ll* may stand for either *shall* or *will*, there is no way of telling whether *I'll*, *you'll*, *he'll* contains the one or the other of these forms" (Krapp, l. c.), but there is no doubt that the convenience of this form has contributed largely to the vastly extended use of *will* as auxiliary of the future instead of *shall* during the last few centuries, i. e. after the disappearance of [w] in weak position had become usual. Syntactical ease points the same way, for it is easier always to use the same means to express the same notion than to have to stop to consider whether one or the other auxiliary is to be used. The increasing frequency of *will* in recent literature is also connected with the free and easy style now prevalent, compared with the greater formal stiffness of much of the older literature.

18.9(6). But while thus considerations of ease have been in favour of using *will* everywhere for the notion of future time, this has to some extent been counteracted by the desire for clearness, which required the notions of volition and of future time to be kept distinct in all those cases in which actual misunderstandings of importance might arise. This leads on the one hand to a frequent use of stronger expressions like *want*, *intend*, *mean*, *choose* instead of *will*, on the other hand to the retention of *shall* in combinations where one particularly often has occasion to speak of someone's will, namely in the first person, in questions in the second person, and finally in conditional and relative clauses: in these cases it is therefore desirable to have a neutral auxiliary if no volition is to be implied. The desire for clearness is also responsible for the growing use of the unmistakable expression for future time *is going to*, and similarly for the frequency of *has to* and *is to* where formerly *shall* was used to express obligation.

18.9(7). The present rule may be stated, very roughly, thus: to indicate futurity *will* is used as an auxiliary everywhere except in those cases in which it might be misunderstood as implying actual will.

But this wording does not comprise those numerous cases in which no auxiliary is used because none is needed. In the frequent use of the simple present tense with futuric meaning we see again the influence of the ease point of view, for it is easiest to say nothing of time, and therefore speakers will often leave the notion of future time unexpressed where they can be certain that the hearer will easily supply it from the context or situation. This is, as we have seen, particularly the case in main sentences containing an explicit indication of time *(I start to-morrow)*. In conditional clauses the present tense suffices when the main verb contains an indication of future *(If she comes, she will sing to us)*, because one indication of time is sufficient. In some cases, however, the conditional clause must itself indicate time in an unmistakable way. Hence, the host may say, for instance, "Well, if you are not going to play tennis, we may as well go into my study": here "if you will not (won't) play tennis" would be wanting in politeness as implying 'if you oppose my desire . . .'; "if you don't play tennis" would mean 'if you are not able to play, or don't play usually'; "if you shan't play" would hardly be comprehensible, at any rate not in the futuric sense of the conditional clauses with *shall* indicating futurity mentioned in 18.4—so the only way of denoting conditional futurity is by "are not going to".

18.9(8). The nearest approach to a paradigm that is reconcilable with scientific accuracy is the following;

the first column comprises expressions in which the idea of volition is stronger than that of future time,

the second column, expressions in which the idea of obligation (understood as above, and comprising promises) is stronger than that of future time,

the third column, expressions of future time as such, without accessory ideas, and finally

the fourth column, ambiguous expressions, which according to circumstances may be interpreted one way or another: in most cases the situation or context eliminates any ambiguity.

In the third column we might have inserted expressions with *am (are, is) going to* as a separate subdivision.

The main verb is here indicated by V.

Volitional Future	Obligational Future	Pure Future	Ambiguous
1. if I will V		I shall V	I will V I V
2. if you will V	you shall V		you will V you V
3. if he will V	he shall V	(whoever shall V)	he will V he Vs
	Questions.		
1. (will I V?)			shall I V? do I V?
2.		shall you V?	will you V? do you V?
3.	(shall he V?)		will he V? does he V?

The small number of 'pure futures' will be noticed, and if we take into consideration the two facts that the rules given here are perfectly valid for England only, while Irishmen, Scotchmen and Americans to a great extent use *will (I will, will you)*, where an Englishman says *shall*, and that the 'paradigm', if it can be termed thus, does not comprise the complications of indirect speech, where *he shall* may represent a direct pure future of the first person, I think it must be conceded that *English has no real 'future tense'*.

It will be seen that I cannot completely share the final optimistic conclusion of the passage in which H. Bradley states the main rules with admirable clearness (*The Making of Engl.* 73): "Future events are divided into two classes, those which depend on the present volition of the speaker, and those which do not. In the former case we say 'I will', and 'you or he shall'; in the latter case we say 'I shall', and 'you or he will'. There are many exceptions, each with its own special reason; but in the main the rule is correct. Some ambiguity in the use of *will* still remains possible, because such a statement as 'he *will* do it' may either express mere futurity or may mean that the person is determined to act in the manner indicated. The sense of *shall*, however, has become quite unequivocal, and perhaps we may say that the language has at length succeeded in making the best possible use of its inherited means of expressing future time."

18.9(9). A variety of expressions with *will* and *shall* is found in Sh Lr II. 4.282 ff.: Lear: No you vnnatural hags, I will haue (15.4(2)) such reuenges on you both, That all the world shall . . . (17.5) I will do (15.6) such things, What they are, yet I know not, but they shalbe (17.5) The terrors of the earth. You think Ile weepe, (21.3) No, Ile not weepe. I haue full cause of weeping, But this heart shal break (18.1) into a hundred thousand flawes Or ere Ile weepe (16.3). O foole, I shall go mad (18.5).—Cornw. Let vs withdraw, 'twill be (16.1) a storme . . . Regan. For his particular, Ile receiue (15.6) him gladly, But not one follower.

Chapter XIX.

Would.

Real Past.

19.1(1). The use of the preterit *would* to express real volition in the past is comparatively rare. It is in the first place found in the constructions mentioned 15.4(7), with the base of the main verb preposed:

Scott A 1.156 turn the matter as he would, he could not regard his suit as desperate | Di Ch 149 doors were shut upon him, go where we would | id P 400 and look where you would, some exquisite form glided gracefully through the throng | id D 88 they were pretty sure of getting into trouble to-morrow, do what they would | Brontë V 260 still, strive as I would, I could not forget that it was possible | Hardy L 78 said Joshua, losing his self-command, try as he would to keep calm.

19.1(2). Outside these constructions *would* as a real past with the meaning of volition is chiefly found in negative sentences:

Sh Cy I. 1.170 he would not suffer mee To bring him to the hauen | Tp 1. 2.267 Sycorax . . . was banished: for one thing she did They would not take her life | AV Luke 15.28 And he was angry and would not goe in (= 20th C. This made him angry, and he would not go in) | Kinglake E 211 I gladly reclined on my divan (I would not lie down) | Di P 391 Hooroar for the principle, as the money-lender said ven he vouldn't renew the bill | id F 358 I told you so, Pa, but you wouldn't believe it | Shaw Ms 188 I wouldnt tell, of course, and I wouldnt say I was sorry | he knocked at the door, but I (she) wouldn't let him in.

Volition ascribed to something lifeless: Moore L 31 the wretched story . . . he tried to put it out of his mind. But it wouldn't be put out of his mind.

19.1(3). In positive sentences this *would* is found first when the contrast to *would not* is either expressed or is clearly implied by the context, as in relative clauses of indifference:

Fielding 5.563 I believe they got into your chamber whether I would or no | Tenn 38 half-sly, half-shy, You would, and would not, little one! | of course it was for him to decide whom he would and whom he would not invite | Brontë V 122 She had the art of pleasing whom she would | Hope King's M 13 Waiting seemed the only thing—waiting till I could fling my shoes at whom I would | ib 341 Letting all think what they would, I rose to my feet.

Note that *still less* is negative: Strachey QV 76 The Queen would not be soothed, and still less would she take advice.

In the following quotation negation is implied in *only* = 'not more than': Swift 3.114 My master, to avoid a croud, would suffer only thirty people at a time to see me.

19.1(4). *Would* as a real past is not rare in the combination *would have*:

Brontë V 263 Once having asked, she would have her guest | id W 160 she would have me to cut her a hazel switch, and then she leapt . . . | Hope King's M 342 everybody gave way to her. That was her father's fault. He never would have her thwarted | Oppenheim M 166 Yet Trent would have no caution relaxed | I would have nothing to do with it | Kipl K 53 Devenish would have it there was a chance of peace | As luck would have it he did not turn up.

19.1(5). The following examples of *would* denoting volition in the past fall outside the categories just mentioned; in most of them *would* is emphatic:

Sh Err IV. 4.152 She that would be your wife [= wanted to be], now ran from you | Swift J 210 I met Sir George, who would needs walk with me as far as Buckingham House | ib 272 I dined with Lord Treasurer, and he would make me go with him to Windsor [= insisted] | ib 357 We would fain have had him eat a bit, but he would go home, it was past six | Sheridan 334 he would have made love to my wife before my face [= wanted to make] | Brontë W 279 he was better, and would be left alone; so the doctor went away | Kinglake E 273 this opposition made the smooth sea seem to me like a prison from which I must and would break out | Wells H 190 She *would* go into it || Cowper L 2.34 Mrs. Unwin and I have for many years walked thither every day in the year, when the weather would permit | Kipl K 49 the next time the lama would eat they took care to give him their best | Hope King's M 327 "It's strange to have you here now." "Max [her husband] would come. I didn't wish it" | Jameson F 64 But she would go, and he took her back to her hotel | Kennedy R 149 I said you wouldn't like it [a play]. But you would come [= 'insisted on coming'] | Moore L 82 But he could not constrain his thoughts to the present moment. They would go back to the fateful afternoon when . . .

Generally a past volition is expressed by *wanted to, was anxious to, intended to, meant to.*

AV Matt 14.5 And when he would haue put him to death, hee feared the multitude = 20th CV Yet, though

Herod wanted to put him to death, he was afraid of the people.

Molloy, p. 35, mentions as a common Irish idiom the use of *would* with a passive infinitive implying volition on the part of the person who would be the subject in the corresponding active sentence: I knocked at the door, but I wouldn't be let in (meaning, those inside would not let me in) | I wanted to bathe but I wouldn't be allowed.

19.1(6). Further *would* denotes repeated or habitual acts in the past, chiefly such acts as are consequences of the subject's nature or character (cf. the present in 15.3(5); in the preterit it is found in all three persons; the quotation from Dickens shows various synonymous expressions):

Ch A 144 She wolde wepe, if that she sawe a mous | also e. g. A 523, 536; B 4495; F 857 | Sh Hml I. 2.142 she would hang on him, As if encrease of appetite had growne By what it fed on | Goldsm V 1.4 the 'Squire would sometimes fall asleep in the most pathetic parts of my sermon | Di Do 65 On Saturday Mr. Dombey came down; and Florence and Paul would go to his hotel, and have tea. They passed the whole Sunday with him, and generally rode out before dinner | Stevenson JHF 125 When I would come back from these excursions, I was often plunged into a kind of wonder [rare in a temporal clause] | Aumonier OB 232 [every time when she was sitting to a painter] they spoke very little till the work was finished, when a man would bring in a tray of tea-things [= and then . . .] | Galsw Ca 538 my presence seemed to have the effect of making her dumb: I would catch her looking at me with a frown, and then, as if to make up to her own nature, she would go to her father and kiss him | AHuxley Jest. Pilate 248 every twenty miles or so, we would catch glimpses of a thing which seemed, at first, only a white cloud . . . Fujiyama.

In a conditional clause: Bentley T 131 If he was having one of these rages in the library and Mrs. Manderson would come into the room, he would be all calm and cold again in an instant.

19.1(7). *Would* as a real past is also found in *would do* = 'sufficed, was good enough', cf. 15.3(3):

Mackenzie C 16 The paragon was just an ordinary little girl . . . But she would do (indirect?) | He tried vegetarianism, but that wouldn't do for him.

19.1(8). Finally *would* expresses power or capacity in the past; it approaches the meaning of 'could' as in the combinations mentioned above 15.3(3):

The hall would seat 1000 people | Di D 307 she asked if the table would bear (indirect) | Di F 357 with her pretty eyebrows raised as high as they would go.

19.1(9). *Would* with perfect infinitive in a temporal clause sometimes means what is now generally expressed by *was going to have*, i. e. an intention that is not carried into effect:

Malory 206 Whanne syr Launcelot wold haue gone thorou oute them, they scatteryd | ib 208 Whanne she wold haue taken her flyghte, she henge by the legges fast | Thack P 464 when Strong would have led him into the second door, [the new-comer] said in a tipsy voice . . .

Imaginative Volition.

First Person.

19.2(1). Volition under an imagined condition (in a main sentence) is found, for instance, in the following examples of the first person. Note that Defoe's sentence is not a notional question, as the meaning is 'I would give very much'; and that in Austen P 14 the condition is implied in *for a kingdom* = 'if you offered me a kingdom', and in Hardy R 376 in *or* = 'if I were not'.

Marlowe E 888 What hast thou done? No more then I would answere were he slaine | Defoe G 154 Now, what would I give to have but one thousandth part of the learning of either of those gentlemen | Swift P 59 if we had known of your coming, we would have strewn rushes for you | Cowper L 2.30 if all the duchesses in the world were spinning for my benefit, I would not stop them | Austen P 14 I would not be so fastidious as you are, for a kingdom | Hardy R 376 I am otherwise engaged, or I would go myself | Hope D 31 I wouldn't be Lady Mickleham's butler if you made me a duke | I'd begin again, I would indeed, if I were ten years younger.

19.2(2). In strict (Southern English) language a distinction is made (parallel to that between *I shall* and *I will*, above 18.5) between *I should* and *I would*, the former eliminating and the latter emphasizing the idea of will; *I would go* thus means 'I should like to go; I should go willingly' and is often supplemented by 'if I could'. Both auxiliaries are found together in AV Job 6.10 [if God destroyed me] Then should I yet haue comfort, yea I would harden my selfe in sorrow | Swift 3.267 [if I were a Struldbrugg] I would from my earliest youth apply myself to the study of arts and sciences, by which I should arrive in time to excel all others in learning. Lastly I would carefully record every action and event . . . I would exactly set down the several changes in customs . . . By all these acquirements, I should be a living treasury of knowledge and wisdom | Cowper L 2.42 did I not know you . . . I should have fewer of these emotions, of which I would have none, if I could help it | GE A 53 if you had been a puny, yellow baby, I wouldn't have stood godmother to you. I should have been sure you would turn out a Donnithorne | Benson D 2.49 If you were dying, I would come, but under the distinct understanding that I should go away again in case you got better | Hardy W 51 'I wouldn't mind it if I were you'. 'I shouldn't so much mind it,' said the younger, 'if I hadn't a notion that it makes my husband dislike me' | Swinb L 85 if you were but five years younger, what a letter I would write your tutor! Upon my word I should like of all things to get you a good sound flogging.

The following passage from Johnson's Rasselas (p. 67) is instructive for the 'orthodox' use of *would* and *should*:

If I had the choice of life, I should be able to fill every day with pleasure. I would injure no man, and should provoke no resentment; I would relieve every distress, and should enjoy the benedictions of gratitude. I would choose my friends among the wise, and my wife among the virtuous; and therefore should be in no danger from treachery or unkindness. My children should, by my care, be learned and pious, and would repay to my age what their childhood had received. What would dare to molest him who might call on every side to thousands enriched by his bounty, or assisted by his power? And why should not life glide quietly away in the soft reciprocation of protection and reverence?

19.2(3). Very often no condition is expressed, and *I would* then becomes a weaker or more modest expression of present will or desire; in modern colloquial language the same idea is generally rendered by *I should like to*:

More U 60 now I woulde very gladly heare of you, whie . . . | Sh Merch III. 2.9 I would detain you here some month or two | AV Matt 12.38 Master, we would see a signe from thee [20th C Version: Teacher, we should like to see some sign from you] | Austen P 19 I would wish not to be hasty in censuring anyone | Tenn 38 I would be the jewel . . . I'd touch her neck (cf. the two next stanzas) | Galsw FM 149 we must do as we'd be done by.

The same *would* = a weaker *will* is found in Hope Ch 53 I wouldn't believe that of you [= I should not like to believe, I am not inclined to believe], where the expression of volition, weak though it be, serves to open the door to the possibility that he may have to believe it, which is precluded by "I shouldn't believe that of you".

On "I would (to God)" see 9.2(2).

19.2(4). *Wouldn't I?* is parallel to *Won't I?* (15.6(5)) in a 'question raised to the second power' = 'can you ask whether I would': Di F 548 "Why, you wouldn't take it by force?" "Wouldn't I? Yes, I would. I'd take it by any force."

Second and Third Persons.

19.2(5). In the second or third person *would* does not very often express conditioned volition, because it is generally weakened so that the idea of volition disappears and the idea of contingency only remains.

19.2(6). When no condition is expressed, *would* may become a weaker or modest way of saying *will*; in the following sentences the usual expression nowadays would be *would like to*:

Sh Mcb I. 5.19 Thou would'st be great . . . What thou wouldst highly, that would'st thou holily, etc. | H4B II. 4.75 Pistoll is below, and would speak with you | Pope 242 But ev'ry lady would be queen for life.

Thus also in questions:

Sh Wiv II. 2.161 would you speak with me? | H4A II. 3.98 what wold'st thou haue with me? | H4B IV. 5.50 What would your Maiestie? how fares your Grace?

We may here mention the use of *would-be* as an adjunct: *a would-be scholar* = 'one who aspires to be a s.' II 14.77.

The difference between *will* as expressing determination and *would* as expressing a vaguer desire is seen in Sh Ven 226 She would, he will not in her armes be bound [= she would like to be embraced, he objects].

19.2(7). In questions in the second person *would you* is now chiefly used to express polite requests:

Would you (kindly) tell me the way to Charing Cross? Would you be kind enough to . . . | Would you do me the favour to . . ., etc.?

Condition.

19.3(1). *Would* is used with the meaning of volition in clauses of condition beginning with *if* and *unless*; this applies to all three persons:

More U 69 yf they wolde commytte robberye, they haue nothynge abowte them meate for that purpose | Sh R2 IV. 1.232 | Lr II. 1.70 dost thou thinke, If I would stand against thee, would the reposall . . . Make thy words faith'd? | Meas III. 1.97 dost thou thinke Claudio, If I would yeeld him my virginitie, Thou might'st be freed? | Defoe G 153 if gentlemen would take the same method, they would soon see the projectors would forsake them | Cowper L 2.12 it is necessary, if we would please, to consult the taste of our own day | Kinglake E 156 [If you stay in the Holy City] If you would hear music, it must be the chanting of friars . . . If you would make any purchases, you must go again to the church doors | Browning 1.526 If you would sit thus by me every night I should work better | Di D 565 the man who reviews his own life had need to have been a good man indeed, if he would be spared the sharp consciousness of many talents neglected | Shaw Ms 224 Yes; if he'd have her with her character gone. But who would? | James S 47 I dare say she would prefer to go . . . If she would prefer to go she would go | If you (one, we) would understand a nation, you (one, we) must know its language [= if one wishes to . . .].

Note the difference in Thack P 56 But he neither would have told it if he could, nor could if he would: the meaning of volition is much more salient in the second than in the first *would*.

The difference between *would* and *should* is clear in Di Do 317 If Mrs. Skewton and her daughter should ever find themselves in that direction, and would do him the honour to look at a little bit of shrubbery they would find there, they would distinguish him very much.

19.3(2). The idea of volition is not very clear in Milne P 209 if it would comfort your mother's heart to know that your daughter will be in good company, I think I can give you that comfort | ib 213 I could have pretended to have forgotten, if it would have pleased you better. Cf. the archaic use below 19.8(1) where we now say *if . . . . had*, etc.

19.3(3). *Would* is also found when the condition is expressed in the form of an interrogatory sentence:

Sh H5 IV. 1.4 There is some soule of goodnesse in things euill, Would men obseruingly distil it out | Congreve 116 I will not rest till I have given you peace, would you suffer me | Wells U 7 the mountain we think we are climbing, would but the trees let us see it.—This is now rather archaic.

Note the use in a temporal clause: Morgan Portrait in a Mirror 207 [I would have told her . . .] But when I would have spoken of this, I saw that she was looking into the future.

Wish.

19.3(4). *Would* is frequent in content-clauses after expressions of wish, not only when the fulfilment depends on the will of the subject: *I wish he would stop that noise*—but also in other cases: *I wish he would die soon.*

Sh Ado II. 3.215 I loue Benedicke well, and I could wish he would modestly examine himselfe | Cy II. 4.6 (I) wish That warmer dayes would come | Tenn 51 I wish the snow would melt and the sun come out on high | Hope D 31 I wish that when you happen to intrude as you did the other day, you wouldn't repeat what you see.

Cp. wishes in the form of a conditional clause: *If only she wouldn't cry in that way!* | *If only the rain would stop!*

19.3(5). In a main sentence *would* is used in the same way in the old formula *God would* or *would God* (that he might live) with *God* as the subject; examples see above 9.2(2).

When people lost the habit of placing a subject after the verb, they came to take *would* as an equivalent of *I would* and *God* as a dative, which was provided with the preposition *to* on the analogy of *I wish to God.* In More U 308 which wold to God it might ones come to passe—the 2nd ed. omits *to.*

Examples with and without *I*: Sh R3 I. 3.140 I would to God my heart were flint, like Edwards | H4A V. 4.69 and would to heauen, Thy name in armes were now as great as mine | H4B I. 1.106 That, which I would to heauen I had not seene | Kinglake E 196 he would to God it were his fancy | ib 197 would to Heaven he were one!

19.3(6). Thus also *would* alone (obsolete):

Sh Cor IV. 6.160 would halfe my wealth would buy this | Err IV. 4.69 You din'd at home; Where would you had remain'd vntill this time | Osborne 4 Would your horse had lost all his legg's.

Cf. with *I* as subject: Sh Cy II. 3.1 I would I were so sure to winne the King.

Here *would*, instead of being part of the wish, serves to introduce the wish.

Non-Volitional *would*.

19.4. In the same way as we saw with *will*, *would* has to a great extent lost its meaning of volition and serves only to indicate contingency or similar ideas. Before we mention the most frequent use, that in imaginative sentences, we shall deal with a rarer use, namely as

After-Past.

19.4(1). In some cases *would* is used to indicate what at some point in the past was still to come, thus stands for the 'after-past' time which is generally expressed by *was to* (below, 22.2(2)). The following seem to be undoubted examples:

Maxwell WF 261 the light became more mellow; the long horizontal rays from a sun that soon would set were stopped by the foliage of the wood | Walpole ST 123 He was fifty-nine years of age and would be sixty next year | Compton-Burnett Brothers and S. 215 . . . said Peter, who was standing with his eyes on the door, through which Edward would come from the church | Rose Macaulay K 103 Raymond scribbled notes about crustacea, on which creatures he would lecture on Monday (similarly 106) | Rea Six Mrs. Greenes 51 as she thought of Mary and Roger's child that would be born in the spring |

Wodehouse Small Bach. 119 He gazed at Fanny . . . as a million other young men in New York were or would shortly be gazing at a million other young women | Hackett Henry VIII 12 Before looking at the thrones they would inherit, and the Europe that would surround them, a glimpse may be taken of the three children who, wholly unknown to themselves, would act in such a manner that we feel the effects of it even to this day.

This use of *would* for the after-past has escaped the notice of most grammarians, but has been described by Mr. John Robertson of Melbourne, who communicated some examples to me as well as to Prof. Sonnenschein, in whose grammar (§ 208, 404) some of them have found a place as 'future in the past'. I copy some of Mr. Robertson's sentences: Where we had walked dry-shod not an hour before, there was nothing to be seen but the waters, and soon they would cover the place where we were | He looked for his little playmates who would return no more | The brisk parson went off to pay his court to the ladies, and partake of the Sunday dinner which would presently be served. Cf. also Sonnenschein, *The Soul of Grammar*, p. 80.

In most of the sentences which might seem to contain this after-past, we have, however, a shifted *will* in indirect speech, though it is not expressly indicated that the sentences are renderings of someone's speech or thoughts (thus some sentences in A. Huxley Crome Y. 307); see the examples in 21.4(1) and what is said of the similar use of *should* in 20.1(2), 21.4(2).

Imaginative non-volitional *would*.

19.4(2). *Would* is the regular auxiliary in the main sentence 'of rejecting condition': the cases in which *should* is used (first person, second person in questions) will be dealt with below 20.3(1). Examples of sentences like the following occur everywhere:

You (any one) would die if you (he) took a strong dose of strychnine | it would be a pity if he did not see her alive | he would not say that unless he knew. Or, to take one classical quotation, Sh Meas II. 2.110 Could great men thunder As Ioue himselfe do's, Ioue would neuer be quiet, For euery pelting petty officer Would vse his heauen for thunder.

If a past time is spoken of, the perfect infinitive is used:

He would have died if he had taken that dose of strychnine | it would have been a pity if he had not seen her alive | he would not have said that unless he had known.

See examples above under the preterit of imagination, Ch. IX.

19.4(3). The condition may be expressed by other means than *if* or *unless*, see, e. g.

Di P 151 This tall man is a rascally adventurer. The moment he married the widow, he would sell off all the furniture, and run away.

19.4(4). Very often the condition is not expressed, and it may even in many cases be difficult to supply the condition that is or was in the mind of the speaker; thus in the following questions:

Franklin 171 and Doyle 55.80 who would have thought it? | Clough 1.186 Thou shalt have one God only; who Would be at the expense of two?

First Person.

19.5(1). This use of *would* in hypothetical sentences of rejecting condition, where no volition is implied, is in modern strict Southern English usage restricted to the second and third persons, while in the first person *should* is used (parallel to the rule for *will* and *shall* in a pure futuric sense). The following quotations in which both auxiliaries occur side by side, should be compared with the corresponding collection above, 19.2(2): in some cases it is difficult to tell whether volition is meant or not.

Di Do 162 I added that you would take it very kindly, and I should take it very kindly too | Mered R 24 Would you let a churlish old brute strike you without making him suffer for it?—I fancy I should return the compliment.—Of course you would! So would I | Trollope D 1.115 Do you not know me well enough to be sure that I should be loyal to him?—Yes; I think that you would be loyal | Doyle NP '94 if he should once understand this the tables would be turned, and I should be his prisoner | Hewlett Q 352 If you were to read I should not listen, if you were to sing the household would wake.

19.5(2). Exceptions to this strict rule are very frequent indeed, and *would* is often used where (English) grammarians insist on *should.*

In ElE *I would* is often found where no will is meant, so that there seems to be no distinction between *I would* and *I should*:

Sh Ado II. 3.119 I would haue thought her spirit had beene inuincible against all assaults of affection.—I would haue sworne it had—I should thinke this a gull | ib 260 if it had been painefull, I would not haue come | H4B IV. 3.131 If I had a thousand sonnes, the first principle I would teach them, should be to forsweare thinne potations | Tw III. 1.45.

19.5(3). The same use of *I would* is frequent in Scotch, Irish, and American (cf. *I will* 16.3(5)), and is certainly spreading even in the South of England:

Scott A 1.26 were he thoughtless or light-headed, I would know what to make of him | ib 2.349 I would not have thought you had so much to fight for | Carlyle Letter Dec. 1822 If I had his [Byron's] genius and health and liberty, I would make the next three centuries recollect me | Barrie Adm. Cricht. 154 I wouldn't have cried [in her place] | Wilde D 90 if I had read all this in a book, I think I would have wept over it | id Im 22 If I didn't write them down I would probably forget all about them | id P 122 had I been released last May, I would have left this place loathing it (very frequent in Wilde, who uses *I should* very sparingly, e. g. P 125) | Shaw 2.132 Why didnt you tell me. I'd have put it down at once |

James S 52 They say we wouldn't know her [she is so changed] | Norris P 237 I know you'll be interested.—Honestly I don't think I would be | id O 69 By applying your schedule of rates we would not earn a cent; we would be bankrupt (but ib 139 twice *I should*) | Kidd Soc. Evol. 287 On the contrary, we would appear to have evidence of the same tendency.

19.5(4). Examples from English writers:

Thack P 653 I'd swear, till I was black in the face, he was innocent, rather than give that good soul pain [volition?] | ib 688 and I never would have thought that there would come this disgrace to my name | Haggard S 126 had I not seen, surely I would never have believed | Vachell H 33 We'd have had a hot time if it hadn't been for him | Doyle S 6.216 if I had examined everything with the care which I would have shown had we approached the case de novo and had no cut-and-dried story to warp my mind, would I not then have found something more definite to go upon? Of course I should | Wells Bishop 308 We'd have hated that . . . We should all have hated that | ib 310 I would be ashamed if you had not done as you have done | Mackenzie S 1.351 [schoolboy:] I wouldn't be surprised | id SA 217 [Oxford man writes:] If I had not been afraid that somehow or other I would have been prevented | Galsw Ca 480 to reach it I would have to pass in front of the . . . window | Jameson F 260 I wouldn't have anything if I hadn't you | Rose Macaulay P 208 I'd have told [if it had been me]; I wouldn't have been such a silly fool as to sneak away and say nothing | Bennett P 269 if anybody had told me . . . I wouldn't have believed it | id HL 62 I wouldn't be a bit astonished | Kennedy CN 242 I wouldn't have thought you'd take her part | Kaye Smith T 182 I made sure we would be discovered | Walpole C 241 I'd rather be buried alive than stay in this hole. I *would* be buried alive if I stayed | id [frequently as in] SC 346 If it hadn't been for him, I would have died | Priestley

B 252 I shouldn't have been able to do much at first, but I'd have managed. I'd have liked that.

Note in some of these quotations the occurrence of both *should* and *would ('d)* without any appreciable difference.

19.5(5). *Would I* in a question, meaning 'I shouldn't': Sutro Choice 76 Make some allowance, sir.—If I didn't, would I be listening to you now? Cf. the example from Doyle in 19.5(4) and the tag-question in Christie Blue Train 143 Why, if I killed her I should have had no need to steal her jewels, would I?

19.5(6). *I would* is often used idiomatically with the meaning 'I should if I were you' and thus comes to mean pretty much the same thing as 'you should' or 'I advise you to':

Sheridan 304 but, upon my soul, I'll print it every word.—That I would, indeed | Locke HB 84 I wouldn't worry about that now | Galsw WM 140 if you've got money, spend it. I would.

Cf. *I should* in similar sentences 20.3(7).

19.5(7). *Would you?* is by no means rare, where no volition could be thought of; in ElE this is a natural concomitant of *I would*, where now *I should* is said, while nowadays it causes a discord between question and answer:

Sh H4B II. 2.56 What would'st thou think of me, if I shold weep? I would think thee a most princely hypocrite. It would be euery mans thought . . . | Congreve 113 Would not you be disappointed? | Hope C 217 Would you advise her to marry the other?—Well, on the whole, I should | id M 42 Would you be surprised to hear that . . .—No, I shouldn't.

Would like.

19.6(1). The frequent combination *would like* presents no difficulty in assertions in the second and third persons (I know you would like some beer | he would like to see you), but in the first person it enters into competition with *I should like*, which strict grammarians like Mr. Fowler (MEU 326) think the only correct expression. *I would like* is not at all rare, even in writers who generally keep the distinction between *I shall (should)* and *I will (would)*: the reason evidently is that the whole combination implies *will* (cp. *I will be glad*, above 16.3(5)). In some of the following examples both auxiliaries are found together:

Thack N 187 I would like to have Clive married to her . . . I should like to see Clive happy | Di D 760 Sometimes, I thought that I would like to die at home | Kipl L 193 I'd like to be left alone, please | Harraden F 106 I should like you to know her.—I would like to meet her | Wilde P 31 I feel as if I would like to found an order | Lawrence L 63 But I should like to hear more: I would like to hear more.

In reply to my question: "Is *I wouldn't mind* just as frequent as *I'd like to . . .?* instead of *should?*" an English friend writes: "Yes, and hardly strikes one as so incorrect." Cf. McKenna M 129 I wouldn't mind that.

Synonymous expressions:

Defoe G 84 I would be very glad to see . . ., cf. 16.3(5) | Mottram EM 152 Come to a show to-night?—I'd love to.

19.6(2). The same vacillation is found in questions in the second person: *Should you like?* is the form preferred by grammarians, but *Would you like?* is heard very often colloquially:

Di D 202 Should you like to go to school at Canterbury? | Di F 489 Should you like to? | Benson D 68 We are going to bring you lunch. What should you like? | GE M 1.81 You wouldn't like to stay behind without mother, should you? (also GE S 193) || Hope Ch 26 Would you like to know him? Of course I should! | Vachell H 164 I should like to be Harry's understudy.—Would you? | (also Doyle S 1.262).

19.6(3). Similar vacillations are found in synonymous expressions:

Thack E 2.22 And would you, sirrah, wish to know how it was . . .—Should you wish to know why . . . | Di Do 205 I should wish to know.—Should you? | ib 157 I should be very glad, if you would talk about my brother.—'Would you, though?' | Mottram EM 157 Oh, I should love it! Wouldn't you, Mary?

Would you mind shutting the door? = Would you kindly shut the door?

19.6(4). The same *would* before a perfect infinitive to express an unfulfilled wish:

Defoe R 2.210 I would have been very glad to have gone back to the island | Mason R 245 I would very much have liked to have had you.

Hypothetical Character Obscured.

19.7(1). We next come to some uses of *would* in which the hypothetical character of the statement is more or less obscured.

Would implies probability in cases like

Doyle S 1.195 That would be in the year 1878 | Bentley T 80 What time was this?—It would be about ten, sir, I should say | ib 81 That would have been about a quarter past eleven, I should say | Bennett ECh 157 He killed himself in his studio. That would be in the autumn of 1879 about | Shaw Ms 175 Of course you wouldnt know | Galsw SS 301 I believe it's all gone.—It would be | Lawrence L 176 Entered the little lady in her finery . . . She would not be very old | Lewis MS 421 That's what most men *would* say.

In the last sentence the writer has italicized *would* to show that it is stressed, as, indeed, it is very often in this sense, e. g. [it ˈwud biˑ].

Cp. in a conditional clause Crofts Insp. French's Greatest Case 159 Mr. Rohmer is inside. If anyone in London would know, he should [= 'if any one is likely to know, it ought to be Mr. R.'].

19.7(2). *It would be* = 'of course it was', 'one might expect that':

Bennett P 247 It was I who introduced them to Mrs. Proback.—It would be! Mr. Prohack commented | Galsw TL 197 They were very polite.—They would be | Walpole OL 80 my husband was more modern than I was. As of course he would be, being a writer | Hope D 53 the Dowager told me . . . Oh, if the Dowager said that! Of course, the Dowager would know! (*Would* emphasizes *of course*) | Dane L 43 One never knew what Madala would do next, and yet when she'd done it, one said—'Of course! Just what Madala *would* do!'

In a question: Shaw Ms 175 Does he call his tutor Holy Joe to his face?—Well, what would he call him? [= what could you expect him to . . .?].

19.7(3). I find no better place than this to put the (perfectly natural) use of *would* in Hardy R 242 I wish I had known that you would be here alone [cf. . . . were . . . in indirect speech 11.4(3)].

19.7(4). The use of *would* of what one would naturally expect is nowadays extremely frequent in answers with the infinitive understood:

Merriman Velvet Glove 53 "It is that that I think of."—"Yes, said Sarrion, rather coldly, you naturally would" | Walpole C 144 "Brandon said something about a man called Forsyth". "Yes—he would. That's just his kind of appointment" | Galsw Frat 22 "He said it was so awfully good".—"He would," replied Cecilia | Bennett P 271 I've no doubt that you and Sissie treated it all as a great piece of fun. You would | id ECh 157 "You remember the Ollinson case?"—"No."—"You wouldn't. Before your time" | Mackenzie Rogues 268 "He always pushes me out".—"He would" | Lawrence L 118 "I don't see that at all."—"No, you wouldn't" | Masterman WL 71 "I do not play cricket."—Collins eyed him, "No, you wouldn't," he said.

In the first person Sutton Vane Outw. Bound 93 And we've put off really thinking what to do till the last moment. Naturally we *would*, we're all English | Rose Macaulay K 63 *I* never heard of him.—No, you wouldn't have. Nor would I. Cf. *I should* 20.3(7).

In Swinburne's "On the Verge" st. 2: "Some . . . Passed, and left us, and we know not what they were, nor what were we. Would we know, being mortal?" = 'would it be likely, seeing that we are mortal, that we should know?' In st. 3 he goes on: Shadows, would we question darkness? Ere our eyes and brows be fanned Round with airs of twilight, . . . Would we know sleep's guarded secret? Ere the fire consume the brand, Would it know if yet its ashes may requicken? Here *should we*? might have been misunderstood as an exhortation.

19.7(5). *It would seem* is a more polite or guarded way of saying 'it seems'; it is very frequent now (cf. *it should seem*, below 20.3(3)), but "does not appear in our quots. before the 19th c." (NED); I have found it, however, in Chaucer. The same meaning attaches to *one would think.*

Ch G 594 it wolde seme Thy lord were wys | Kinglake E 94 It would seem that before this catastrophe Lady Hester had been rich | Cowper L 2.29 One would almost suppose that reading Homer were the best ophthalmic in the world | Shaw M 84 [vg] one ud think she was keepin company with him.

19.7(6). In the following Irish and American quotations we have questions with *would*, where British English would have *should* (see 20.5(2)); they agree with the above-mentioned use of *will* (16.4):

Birmingham W 30 Why would he not pass it? | ib 300 Is there such a thing as a pen in the house?—There is; why wouldn't there? | Dreiser F 316 [they consulted:] What would we do? Would we let her sink or try to save her? | id AT 1.124 If he wants me to go, I'll go. Why wouldn't I? (Cf. the indirect question in ib 169 perhaps he would. I don't see why he wouldn't).

Various Uses.

19.8(1). In a conditional clause *would* is not ordinarily used except where volition has to be indicated (above 19.3).

Sometimes, however, especially in former times *would have* is found instead of the (now) usual *had*, thus without any indication of volition:

Sh R2 III. 3.11 The time hath beene, Would you haue been [= now: had you been, if you had been] so briefe with him, he would haue beene so briefe with you | Defoe M 185 my governess had disguised me like a man . . . unless I would have owned my sex | Cowper L 2.4 so surely would he have done me irreparable mischief, if I would have given him leave | ib 2.262 Mrs. Unwin would have been employed in transcribing my rhymes for you, would her health have permitted | Austen M 423 Would he have deserved more, there can be no doubt that more would have been earned | Thack P 56 If Captain Costigan whom I had the honour to know, would but have told his history, it would have been a great moral story [volition?] | Priestley B 47 If I'd have known, he wouldn't have set foot in this house.

Thus also in rendering vulgar speech, with the would-be funny spelling *of* = [əv] for *have*: Rose Macaulay K 57 if I'd of known . . . I'd have gone after supper [ib 244 Daisy'd never of said so if it hadn't of been true, N.B. with *hadn't*; p. 65 if I'd have known | 91 if I'd have thought of it].

Would does not seem to imply volition in Sh R2 III. 4.20 Ile sing . . .—But thou should'st please me better, *would'st thou weepe.*—I could weepe, Madame, would it doe you good.—And I could sing, *would weeping doe me good* [= if thou wept'st . . . if weeping did me good].

19.8(2). I add here two quotations with *would* after *before*; in the first it would be more usual to say *had found* instead of *would have found*:

Swift PC 74 a child would have cry'd half an hour before it would have found out such a pretty plaything | Oppenheim Pawns Count 296 They were passing away the few minutes before Pamela and her aunt would be ready to join them in the dining-room above.

19.8(3). *Would* may be used after *as if* and *as though*:

Di H 10 he looked as though, if he were cut, he would bleed white | Galsw Ca 549 Lucy cried as if her heart would break [= were going to break].

19.8(4). The ordinary rule according to which *would* or *should* is used in the conditioned, but not in the conditional clause (if he came he would say | if he came I should say) may be called a case of linguistic economy, in so far as one indication of the hypothetical character of the whole sentence suffices, exactly as in French *(s'il venait, il dirait)*. It is the counterpart of the rule that one indication of future time is sufficient in sentences like "if he comes, he will say | if he comes I shall say" (as in French: *s'il vient il dira*).

Confusion of *would* and *had.*

19.9(1). The weakly stressed forms of *had* and *would* are identical in the spoken language: *I'd, we'd, he'd* and *it 'ud* [it əd] may be expanded either as *I had* or as *I would*, etc. This leads to some confusion in the popular feeling, especially with regard to those phrases *had better*, *had rather*, etc., which were mentioned above (9.4). *Had rather* is historically justified, but *would rather* also gives sense and is found in ME: with *rather* preposed it is found in Ch A 487 But rather wolde he yeven | T 3.379 That rather deye I wolde; in Sh *would rather* is rarer than *had rather* and chiefly confined to such cases as Gent. V. 4.34 I would haue beene a breakfast to the beast, Rather than haue false Protheus reskue me—where *rather* is only loosely connected with *would*. In R3 III. 7.161 the folio emends the *had rather* of the old quartos into *would rather*.

Examples of printed *'d*, which may be taken for either auxiliary:

Hope C 210 you must not tell anyone; at least, I'd rather you didn't | Milne P 114 He says he'd rather you came to him, darling.

19.9(2). *Would better* is printed instead of *had better* in some American books:

Hay B 301 I have tried to get it out of my mind, but I have an odd impression that I would better cherish it | B. Stevenson Boule Cabinet 143 perhaps I would better tell Parks . . . perhaps I would better wait.

19.9(3). Sometimes a previous correct *had* seems to be continued as if it had been *would*:

Defoe R 172 If I *had* let him stay there three or four days without food, and then *have* carry'd him some water, he would have been tame | Trollope O 263 *Had* you remained here, and *have* taken me, I should certainly not have failed then || Page J 400 Why *had* I not pitched him out of the window that first evening, and so *have* ended his wicked career? || cf. McCarthy 2.329 it may seem surprising that the Conservatives *did* not accept this trivial and harmless measure, and so *have* done with the unwelcome subject.

19.9(4). *Had have ['d have]* is found also in other combinations, where imaginative *had* would seem more appropriate. In recent times this is chiefly found in renderings of vulgar speech, but Tennyson has it in one of his dramas: is this *had* really due to the confusion of the weak forms of these auxiliaries?

Examples: Sir T. More [quoted by Delcourt, p. 173] and than had the wyne or the ale . . . haue been for frere Barnes a better saumple | Caxton R 46 had tybert the catte haue ben there, he shold also somwhat haue suffred | ib 68 I had wythoute taryeng haue comen | Sh Tw III. 4.312 Plague on't, and [= if] I thought he had beene valiant, and so cunning in fence, I'd haue seene him damn'd ere I'de haue challeng'd him | Cor IV. 7.13 I wish . . . you had not Ioyn'd in commission with him: but either haue borne The action of your selfe, or else to him, had left it soly [in modern editions 'corrected' into *had borne*] | Di Do 285 [not vulg.] Little Dombey was my friend, and would have been now, if he'd have lived | GE A 159 It 'ud ha' been better luck if they'd ha' buried him i' the forenoon | Tenn 728 (Becket III sc. 3) as the case stood, you had safelier have slain an archbishop than a she-goat | Trollope W 93 If you'd just have let Bold come and go there, he and Eleanor would have been married by this time | Mered RF 58 If y'had only ha' spoke trewth! | ib 399 Had I a' known—your ladyship knows I never should presume | id EH 105 | Galsw P 43 If I'd ha' known as much as I do now, I'd never ha' had one o' them | Mackenzie Rogues 194 [vulg.] I could have been married half a dozen times if I hadn't have dreaded the idea of having children of my own | ib 224 If you'd have left your address I could have forwarded it on | id S 1116 if I hadn't have lost that watch-bracelet I'd feel like the bloody German Emperor | Masefield E 12 If you'd a seen the way [also Stockton, Lady or Tiger 246, Hay B 67, 68, etc.] | Bromfield Good Wom. 329 If he'd only stayed away! If he'd never have come back.

Cp. finally Di F 703 Wish I may die if you ain't ha' [= haven't] been a imitating me.

Chapter XX.

Should.

Real Past.

20.1(1). The use of *should* as a real past is even more restricted than the corresponding use of *would*, and the meaning of obligation in the past is not evident at first blush. But the familiar expression to denote surprise at some past occurrence, "When I crossed the street, who(m) should I see but my old friend Tom?" must be analyzed as 'It was at that particular moment my destiny to run across Tom'. Similarly in all persons.

Fielding T 3.24 Who should he be but the son of the squire? | Morris E 52 What should we find . . . but this my son | Collins M 198 and, who should I see in the courtyard, but Mr. Begbie | Galsw Ca 23 Swithin approached his usual seat, who should be sitting there but Rozsi!

After-Past.

20.1(2). In former times, *should* was sometimes used to indicate what in the past was destined (or looked upon as destined) to happen in the future; nowadays the same idea (after-past, see 1.1) is generally expressed by means of *was to* with the infinitive.

Ch G 127 And when this mayden sholde unto a man Ywedded be . . . And day was comen of hir mariage, She . . . Had next hir flesh yclad hir in an heyre | AV Mat 11.3 Art thou hee that should come? [whose future coming we were expecting?] | Acts 2.47 the Lord added to the church dayly such as should be saued [Gr. tous sōzomenous; RV those that were being saved; 20th CV those who were in the path of Salvation].

When something similar is found now (only in the first person), it seems to be always a *shall* of direct speech shifted in indirect rendering of someone's words or thoughts, see 21.4(2).

20.1(3). A related use with the perfect infinitive, where *should have* means what is usually expressed by *was to have* in speaking of a determination in the past that was not carried into effect (see 10.8(7)) is found in Sh Wint IV. 4.794 his sonne, that should haue marryed a shepheards daughter.

20.1(4). NED *shall* 14f has two quotations for *should* 'in statements of what habitually occurred'. According to Franz § 620 Anm. Sh has once *I should* = 'I used to': H6B III. 1.125 Pittie was all the fault that was in me: For I should melt at an offendors teares—a use of *should* that he finds also in Bunyan and traces back to OE. But the passage in Sh seems to me to mean 'I had to melt whenever an offender wept', and the same interpretation holds good of the examples given for OE in Wülfing's Syntax Alfreds d. Gr. vol. 2 § 393 d ('it was their duty to . . .', etc.). But *should* is curiously used as a continuation of *would* in Defoe R 2.21 these extravagancies did not shew themselves . . . in different persons only: But all the variety *would* appear in a short succession of moments in one and the same person. A man that we saw this minute dumb, and as it were stupid and confounded, *should* the next minute be dancing and hallowing like an antick . . . a few minutes after that, we should have him all in tears.

Imaginative Obligation.

20.2(1). The chief use of *should* is as a preterit of imagination, in the first place to express obligation or duty under hypothetical conditions as in

Malory 336 for that cause I wil spare you—els ye shold iuste with me [= mod. you would be obliged to joust] | Congreve 181 were it possible, it should be done this night | Di X 6 If I could work my will every idiot should be boiled with his own pudding.

Generally, no condition is expressed, and *should* (like *ought*, above 9.5(5)) thus indicates present obligation, duty or propriety in general, the sense of obligation being rendered weaker than in the case of *shall* by the form of an hypothesis. This use goes back to OE times:

Beow 1328 Swylc scolde eorl wesan | Ch C 582 A capitayn sholde live in sobrenesse | Cæs IV. 3.86 A friend should beare his friends infirmities | Swift PC 65 Maids should be seen, and not heard | Byron DJ 2 16 Young men should travel, if but to amuse | Di D 405 you should be careful not to irritate her | Di P 150 Though I say it that should not; other examples III 5.2$_1$ and 9.3$_2$ | Stevenson V 42 ere you marry, you should have learned the mingled lesson of the world: that dolls are stuffed with sawdust, and yet are excellent playthings | ib 109 people should be a good deal idle in youth | Wilde In 153 a critic should above all things be fair | Wells H 54 But you should, you ought to; it's your duty.

20.2(2). With a passive verb, the duty generally must refer to the person who would be the subject in the corresponding active construction:

Sh Mids II. 1.242 we [women] should be woo'd, and were not made to wooe | Johnson R 126 misfortunes should always be expected. Similarly Pope: The sound should be an echo to the sense | Dickinson, After the War 32: What is wanted is men of eminence experienced in affairs, capable of impartiality . . . It would not be easy to find such men, but it should not be impossible.

In the second of the following two sentences the duty evidently belongs to 'us', i. e. men: Sher 72 Women should never sue for reconciliation: that should always come from us.

20.2(3). This *should* generally refers to a duty in the present time or in the future—things which cannot easily be kept distinct—as in "He is everything *he shouldn't be*". But this phrase is used unchanged in the past: Hope D 4 He was everything he shouldn't be. If, however, the idea of past duty (duty unfulfilled in the past) is to be emphasized, the perfect infinitive is used: he was everything *he shouldn't have been.*

In Stevenson V 42, quoted above 20.2(1), *should have* is used differently and says nothing about the duty not having been fulfilled; *should have learned* = 'should know'.

The difference between *should* and *would* is seen very clearly in Walpole C 161 His words should have been enough, in earlier days *would* have been | London M 207 Nor would you—or, rather, should you—accept the ravings of these two lunatics as a convincing portrayal of love.

20.2(4). In clauses after expressions of determination, desire, command, etc., in the present tense, *should* is originally a weaker *shall*, but has come to be used much more frequently than *shall*:

Marlowe H 170 When two are stript long ere the course begin, We wish the one should loose, the other win | Sh Tim III. 5.2 'Tis necessary he should dye | Tw III 1.83

my neece is desirous you should enter | H5 I. 2.123 all expect that you should rowse your selfe | Mcb I. 5.26 | AV Matt 18.14 it is not the will of your father which is in heauen, that one of these little ones should perish | Cowper L 2.6 I hardly know how to leave this subject, but it is necessary that I should | ib 2.15 I am very unwilling that you should be reduced to that necessity | ib 2.24 the good woman is content that your servants should eat in her parlour | Austen P 172 women fancy admiration means more than it does. And men take care that they should | Di S 89 He is particularly anxious that the fish-pond should be kept specially neat | id Do 270 I am sure I am willing she should go | Thack N 457 the doctors wish he should be kept as quiet as possible | Doyle M 58 it is his desire that a medical man should stay there | id S 2.189 It is absolutely essential to me that I should have 50000 l. at once | NP '29 he insists that the two books should be read together.

20.2(5). The meaning of obligation or constraint is often weakened; in this way *should* becomes a usual expression of advice or vague admonition; especially in the second person:

You should do that (something that is advisable now or in future) | you should have done that (something advisable in the past that was not done) | Doyle St 276 You should publish an account of the case | What should I do? [= 'What do you advise me to do?'].

The difference between the vague expression *should* and the more determined *shall* of threats and promises is seen in:

Ch LGW A 321 A god ne sholde nat ben thus agreved, But of his deitee he shal be stable | Marl E 946 Twas in your wars, you should ransome him.—And you shall ransome him, or else . . .—What Mortimer, you will not threaten him? | Mered R 145 you should know my cousin Austin. You shall know him.

20.2(6). A related use with the perfect infinitive is found in *you should have seen . . .* = 'you ought to have . . ., I wish you could have . . ., it would have been good if you had . . .'.

20.2(7). *I should know* = 'I ought perhaps to know', as an expression of doubt whether he really knows:

Sh Tp II. 2.90 I should know that voyce. It should be—, But hee is dround | Mi Co 490 That hallow I should know, what are you? speak | Scott Iv 272 By my faith, I should know that voice!

Cp. also Sh Tp I. 2.387 Where shold this musick be? I'th' air or th'earth? [= where do you think it likely that this music comes from?].

20.2(8). The same element of almost-certainty is characteristic of the following instances:

Sh Ro V. 1.55 As I remember, this should be the house | ib V. 2.2 | Oth IV. 1.164 By Heauen, that should be my handkerchiefe | H4B II. 2.182 | Oppenheim Laxw 94 They meet here and in this spot. It should be worth seeing | Galsw FM 180 he should be in directly [= will probably be] | id IC 294 It was past time; they should be coming soon!

Compare also Kipling K 366 News was at Ziglaur by midnight, and by to-morrow should be at Kotgarh (= will be, if all goes well) | Oppenheim Laxw 276 one of us has to lunch again. You are younger and your digestion should be more perfect.

NED (18 b) says: "*Should be*: ought according to appearances to be, presumably is. ? *Obs.*".

20.2(9). Thus *should* comes very near to the *must (surely)* of logical inference, as in

Di D 419 the night should have turned more wet since I came in, for he had a large sou'wester hat on | McCarthy 2.105 In the prevailing temper of the public, the evidence should have been very clear indeed to induce an ordinary English jury to convict him | Hewlett Q 191 his thoughts should be worth having | Kipl L 39 a little exhibition, which, backed by our names and the influence we naturally command among the press, should be of material service to you | Norris O 315 she insisted upon presenting him to H. 'You two should have so much in common' | Doyle S 2.216 I think that should do.

Imaginative Non-Obligation.

In Main Sentences.

20.3(1). In main sentences of rejecting condition *should* was formerly used extensively in all persons corresponding to the former rules for *shall* to denote the future); the idea originally was the fated certainty of what would be a consequence of the imagined condition (cf. above 20.2 on conditioned duty), but in many sentences no meaning of constraint of any sort is apparent:

Malory 714 had it ben any other than Gawayn he shold not haue escaped | More U 67 he hiereth some of them . . . sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man | ib 69 moneye fownde abowte them shoulde betraye the robberye | ib 69 they shoulde be no soner taken wyth the maner, but furthwyth they shoulde be punysshed | Sh R2 III. 4.20 thou should'st please me better, would'st thou weepe | ib IV. 1.232 If thou would'st, There should'st thou finde one heynous article | Sonn 11.7 If all were minded so, the times should cease, And threescore yeare would make the world away (cf. Franz § 612) | Goldsm 651 Were I a wretch, meanly seeking to carry off a fortune, you should be the last man in the world I would apply to for assistance | Austen P 38 If I wished to think slightingly of anybody's children, it should not be of my own, however.

Where the modern idiomatic expression is "you would refuse (would be refusing) . . . if you refused . . .", Shakespeare has sometimes *should* in both clauses: Merch I. 2.100 you should refuse to performe your fathers will, if you should refuse to accept him.

20.3(2). In such a sentence as the following *should* as it were supplies the missing hypothetical form of *must* (**would must*; cf. above on *must* as imaginative preterit 9.5(8)):

McCarthy 2.384 All manhood should have deserted the English heart if the English people did not acknowledge some admiration for such men.

20.3(3). Where it is now usual to say *it would seem*, the old phrase was *it should seem* (e. g. Sh Wint IV. 4.372, R3 III. 2.7 Q, Gibbon M 133; many quotations from 1525 till now in NED *seem* 5 f.); this "is perh. slightly archaic, and is now chiefly used to express a guarded (or sometimes an ironical) acceptance of statements made by others". Macaulay perhaps uses *should* on account of the following *ought* in H 1.67 It should seem that the weight of England among European nations, ought, from this epoch, to have greatly increased | ib 1.109 it should seem that the course which ought to be taken is obvious. Cf. 19.7(5).

First Person.

20.3(4). Nowadays *should* in conditioned sentences is generally restricted in the same way as the purely future *shall*, i. e. to the first person and to the second person in questions. The normal distribution of the two auxiliaries, at any rate in England, therefore is:

If he said that, I should believe him.
you would believe him.
should you believe him?
everybody would believe him.

It is hardly necessary to illustrate this use of *I (we) should* in assertions. Two recent quotations may, however, find their place here: Galsw Ca 545 if I were you, I should be ashamed | Bennett LR 70 Perhaps the risk is as great as she thinks. If so, I should be very sorry.—Other examples are found here and there in other paragraphs, see ch. IX, and X, 19.6, etc.

In some slight measure *I should* may be said to be ambiguous, as it sometimes expresses duty (cf. above

20.2(1) ff.). When we read (London M 395) "I was weak in yielding. I should not have done so" we understand it as meaning 'It was wrong of me to do so'; but if the sentence had been followed by something like "if you had been present" the idea of duty immediately disappears, and the only thing remaining is the colourless *should* corresponding to *would* in the other persons. When a person corrects himself, we may interpret *I should say (I should have said)* as a weak expression of duty: Hope D 52 It seems to me that what is sauce—that, I should say, husband and wife ought to stand on an equal footing in these matters.

Does *I should have* in the following quotation express unfulfilled duty, or simply what would have happened? Galsw Ca 538 I spent evening after evening there, when, if I had not thought only of myself, I should have kept away.

We must also admit a certain ambiguity in questions: *What should I do?* may mean (1) 'what would it be likely that I did?' and (2) 'what do you (or would you) advise me to do?'

Miss Austen in some passages uses *should* instead of *would* after *one*, evidently because this is virtually a synonym of *I*:

Austen M 69 one should not like to have Sir Thomas find all the varnish scratched off | ib 391 one should be a brute not to feel for the distress they are in.

NED (*shall* 19 c) has an example from G. C. Lewis (1862), but does not explain it and qualifies it as 'abnormal'.

20.3(5). Here some examples of *should have* in the first person of that which did not take place in the past, but would have happened under certain conditions, may find their place:

Sh H6C II. 1.4 Had he been ta'ne, we should haue heard the newes | Hope R 33 I fear that, unless Heaven had sent me a fresh set of brains, I should have been caught in much the same way | id Z 275 Yet, had Fritz killed him, I should have grudged it | Barrie Adm. Cricht.

155 If I had been wrecked on an island, I think it highly probable that I should have lied when I came back.

20.3(6). Examples of the regular *should I* in questions:

Defoe G 135 What should I do with books? I never read any [cf. the questions in 20.3(4)] | Di F 270 I am sure you would do no such horrible thing.—Shouldn't I? Well; perhaps I shouldn't | Di D 273 'You would be delighted to see that household.' 'Should I? Well, I think I should' | Mulock H 157 Would you like to be a mill-owner?—Shouldn't I?! [= emphatic I should].

20.3(7). In modern parlance one frequently finds *I should* used with aposiopesis of "if I were you", and curiously enough the phrase thus comes to mean the same thing as *you should* (i. e. I advise you to):

Phillpotts GR 75 If you can even lunch with your party I should | Galsw SS 121 Would you take any notice of MacGown's insinuation? I should (also id Ca 449) | Bennett T 409 "Well, I'll go round to Clara's myself," said Edwin. "I shouldn't," said Maggie | Jameson F 149 [his father offers him a fiver] Thanks awfully. I don't think I should give me anything in your place | Sherriff Journey's End 25 I should take your pack off. Note in the two last quotations the confusion in the pronouns. Cf. 19.7(4) *would.*

20.3(8). Very often, the idea of a condition (a rejected hypothesis) is not only left unexpressed, but is so vague and indistinct that it is hardly present in the mind of the speaker. *I should say* becomes a modest or diffident way of saying 'I say' or 'I dare say': I should say he was over fifty. But *I should think* (with stress on *think*) generally implies scornful assertion: I should think he was over fifty | Is he over fifty? Oh yes, I should think so [= Rather!]. Thus also:

Di Do 157 'You have left Dr. Blimber, I think?'—'I should hope so.'

20.3(9). In questions in the second person, *should you* is required by English grammarians (cp. *shall you* 18.7), and is found even in tags after *would*:

Austen M 299 You would miss me, should not you? | Thack P 574 Shouldn't you like a turn? | GE M 2.88 Then you would never have the heart to reject one yourself,—should you? | Mered H 311 Should you take me for a gentleman? | Bentley T 79 Should you wish me to recall the circumstances of Sunday night? | Should you be able to recognize his voice in the dark?

Cf. on *would you* above 19.5(7); emotional questions 20.5(2).

Conditional Clauses.

20.4(1). *Should* is frequent in conditional clauses contrary to fact. The original idea of *if he should die* is 'if it were fated that he died'; but the idea of constraint by destiny is here as elsewhere weakened, and the three expressions *if he died*, *if he should die*, and *if he were to die* (10.3(3)) come to be nearly synonymous, though they might perhaps be said to represent three degrees of uncertainty with regard to the contingency of his death, the third being now, perhaps, more frequent than the second. These combinations are clearly different from *if he would*, which implies volition. This use of *should* corresponds to *shall* in conditional clauses (18.4(1)), but differs from it in belonging to ordinary everyday language.

Examples of *should* after *if*:

More U 60 if robbers shoulde be sewer of their lyues, what violence were able to holde their handes from robbynge | Sh Alls I. 3.242 thinke you Helen, If you should tender your supposed aide, He would receiue it? | BJo 3.189 We should miss this if we should not go | Congreve 251 if you should give such language at sea you'd have a cat o' nine-tails laid across your shoulders | Lamb R 58 she could be within hearing if her grandmother should call her | Di Do 166 Papa will recover from his grief; and if he should, I will tell him | ib 168 If when you come back, you miss me from my old corner, and should hear from any one where I am lying, come and look upon my grave | Hardy R 236 How terrible it would be if a time should come when I could not love you.

20.4(2). Similarly after *so that* and *suppose* = 'if':

Hope R 273 she did not care what he was, so that he was hers, so that he should not leave her | Di D 213 suppose some of the boys had seen me and should find me out | James S 48 Then suppose she should die?

After *in case* Squire Grub Street 77 he gave a little ring, and tapped quietly with the pretty brass knocker in case the servants should have gone to bed.

20.4(3). *If . . . should have* with the second participle is archaic: nowadays *if . . . had* is used (see 9.7(5)):

Sh John IV. 1.70 And if an angell should haue come to me, And told me Hubert should put out mine eyes, I would not haue beleeu'd him | [Ado II. 3.81] | Congreve 118 what a sad thing would that have been, if my lord and I should never have met!

20.4(4). *Should* is frequent when the condition is not expressed by means of a conjunction, but in the form of an interrogatory sentence:

Sh Gent III. 1.15 should she thus be stolne away from you It would be much vexation to your age | Wint II. 1.78 Should a villaine say so . . . He were as much more villaine | Longfellow Hiaw 1 Should you ask me, whence these stories? . . . I should answer, I should tell you . . . Should you ask where Nawadaha, etc. | Elizabeth Exp 151 But this lady, should anyone see him with her, could only do him credit as a companion.

Should with the perfect infinitive is rarer:

Thack H 18 I had promised a dozen of them a treat down the river, should the promised riches have come to me | Mason F 139 it would have been easy to quiet his suspicions, should he have ever come.

20.4(5). The main verb is not always hypothetical, but may be a simple present (or *will*) or an imperative:

in that case we may substitute a simple present for the *should*-combination:

if any thing should happen if anything happens	he will be angry; or, you must call me at once; or, call me at once.

But in the case of a hypothetical main clause, the simple preterit of imagination might be used instead of the combination with *should*:

if anything should happen if anything happened	he would be angry.

20.4(6). *Should* in relative clauses implying a condition is literary rather than colloquial (cf. *shall* 18.4(2)):

Fielding T 2.110 Would not you fire a pistol at anyone who should attack your virtue? | Johnson R 111 a concussion that should shatter the pyramid would threaten the dissolution of the continent | Shelley 403 Whoever should behold me now, I wist, Would think I were a mighty mechanist | Quincey Sel 135 a stranger who should have seen her would certainly set her down for one plagued with that infirmity of speech | Macaulay B 127 What would be thought of a painter who should mix August and January in one picture? | Di D 137 I was prepared to shed the blood of anybody who should aspire to her affections | McCarthy 2.145 Mr. Bright was for a Reform Bill, from whomsoever it should come | Hardy R 301 It would be a strange hour which should catch me singing | Stevenson V 40 the man who should hold back from marriage is in the same case with him who runs away from battle | Shaw J *53 one can imagine what would have happened to the man who should have dared to tell the truth in this fashion.

20.4(7). A frequent expression is:

Dickinson S 25 he would be a rash man who should venture to forecast the remotest results | Raleigh Sh 129 he would be a bold man who should presume to determine the boundary.

(The same expression in varied forms in Raleigh St 25, Stevenson MB 62, Archer Am 169, etc.)

20.4(8). Here also belongs the usual phrase *as who should say* (cf. F. *comme qui dirait*) = 'one might almost say'; see III 3.5₁.

Emotional *should.*

20.5(1). *Should* is very often used in passing a judgment of an emotional character (agreeable or disagreeable surprise, indignation, joy) on some occurrence; whether this is a fact (something which is happening or has happened) is neither indicated nor denied by the form of the expression, but is left to be concluded from the context or situation; as a matter of fact this mode of expression is of frequent occurrence in giving one's opinion of an actual fact (especially with *should have done*, etc.).

20.5(2). Thus in the first place in questions. While the sentence "Why was the date omitted?" is a mere factual question, there is wonder, and therefore, possibly, some suspicion of the purity of the motives, implied in "Why should the date of this document have been omitted?" Or the truth of the fact may be doubted: "Why should he have burnt the paper?" = 'I see no motives and therefore doubt that he did burn it'.

Sh Tp II. 2.69 where the diuell should he learne our language? | Mi PL 4.515 Why should thir Lord Envie them that? | Sheridan 244 Why should you think I would see him? | Austen P 159 Why should you be surprised? | ib 172 Why should they try to influence him? | Doyle S 1.160 Why should you raise up hopes which you are bound to disappoint? | Dane FB 123 you might tell me what's the matter.—Oh, rot, Laura. What should be the matter? Someone asking for you.—Who should ask for me?

Correspondingly in a dependent clause: Mi S 216 I oft have heard men wonder Why thou should'st wed Philistian women | Di Do 166 I am afrai dyou have scarcely been a favourite.—'There is no reason why I should be' | Stevenson VP 109 that a man has written a book of travels in Montenegro, is no reason why he should never have been to Richmond.

Note the difference between *should* and *would* in Milne P 80 Why should it make a difference to you?—It would.

In Marl E 921 Who should defray the money, but the King—we have either this use or *should* meaning 'ought to': 'it is the duty of no one else, but the king, to . . .'.

20.5(3). Secondly, this emotional *should* is very frequent in content-clauses:

More U 60 I thynke it not right that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans lyfe | Sh H4B II. 2.42 it is not meet, that I should be sad now my father is sicke | Lr II. 4.1 'Tis strange that they should so depart from home, And not send back my messengers | AV Gen 2.18 It is not good that the man should be alone | Spect 182 Is it not wonderful, that the love of the parent should be so violent while it lasts; and that it should last no longer than is necessary for the preservation of the young? | Austen P 8 It is such a good joke, too, that you should have gone this morning, and never said a word about it till now | Shelley L 528 I accuse myself that my precipitancy should have given you the vexation you express | Macaulay H 1.48 It is not strange, therefore, that the Tudors should have been able to exercise a great influence | Thack E 2.148 'tis a marvel to think that her mother was the poorest and simplest woman in the world, and that this girl should have been born from her | Brontë V 244 That I should dare to remain thus alone in the darkness, showed that my nerves were regaining a healthy tone | Di Do 112 I thought it well that you should be told this from the best authority | id D 255 It's natural and rational that you should like it | Doyle S 1.203 my father went from home . . . I was glad that he should go | Barrie M 17 I'm ashamed you should have me for a mother.

"It is strange that he exercised (or, has exercised) so great influence" merely states the fact; "it is strange that he should exercise so great influence" (cf. the quotation from Macaulay) lays more stress on the strangeness by using the imaginative *should* in the clause. In the quotation from Thackeray the marvel is not that the mother was poor, but that such a woman could have such a child.

Wonder is expressed in a roundabout way in Norris O 80 he would not have believed that a girl so young should have had arms so big and perfect,—where it would have been more natural to say *could have arms.*

20.5(4). Not infrequently the judgment itself (e. g. what a pity!) is omitted (by aposiopesis) and the *that*-clause thus stands alone as an exclamation:

Sh Hml I. 2.137 That it should come to this | H4B V. 4.27 O, that right should thus o'recome might! | Tp I. 2.67 that a brother should Be so perfidious | Ro I. 1.176 ff. | Congreve 155 That my poor father should be so very silly | Shelley 480 Alas! that all we loved of him should be, But for our grief, as if it had not been! | Swinb PB 221 Ah that such sweet things should be fleet, Such fleet things sweet! | Stevenson D 41 O Lucy, Lucy, that we should have come to such a country!

20.5(5). We have a different kind of emotional *that*-clause after a question—giving the reason why we wonder:

Sh Hml II. 2.586 What's Hecuba to him . . . That he should weepe for her? | AV Job 7.17 What is man, that thou shouldest magnifie him?

20.5(6). *Should* is frequent in clauses after expressions of fear, and especially after *lest*:

More U 69 it is so lytle feared, that they shoulde torne agayne to theyre vycyous condytyons | Sh All II. 3.95 Be not afraid that I your hand should take | Goldsm 631 let us leave the house this instant, for fear he should ask further questions | By DJ 1.209 For fear some prudish reader should grow skittish ‖ Sh H5 III. 2.40 hee scornes to say his prayers, lest a should be thought a coward | Bunyan P 77 for fear lest he should be assaulted | Defoe R 189 seldom staying one night on shore, least they should not have the help of the tides | Cowper L 2.31 your letters are so much my comfort, that I often tremble lest by any accident I should be disappointed | ib 2.61 I will not think of it, lest I should be again disappointed | Thack N 304 I tremble lest some mischance should befall him | Hope R 272 she drew back in apparent fear lest they should see her | ib 281 speaking in a low voice, lest the queen should hear | Bennett P 51 I had even to learn in secret, lest you should stop me.

Chapter XXI.

Will, would, shall, should in Indirect Speech.

The following pages might have found their place in ch. XI on Tenses in Indirect Speech, or else in ch. XV—XX on the two auxiliaries, but it has been thought more expedient to place them here in a separate chapter on account of the special complications arising from the fact that we have here shifting not only of tense, but of person as well (cf. PG 219, 292). The general tendency is to use the auxiliary which would have been used in direct speech; but sometimes the verb is made to conform to the person into which the original subject has been shifted, especially if the verb of saying is at some distance, so that the shifting is not clearly present to the mind. *Will* here, as elsewhere, tends to take the place of *shall.*

The arrangement will be according to the person of the direct speech, though for considerations of convenience the last section will deal with all persons together in temporal clauses. In the superscription of paragraphs *I* stands also for *we*, *he* also for *she*, *it*, and *they*.

21.1(1). Direct First Person.

I will (volition) remains *I will*:

I think I will have a whisky and soda.

I will (volition) becomes *I would*:

Sh Ado II. 3.252 When I said I would die a batcheler, I did not think I should liue till I were maried | Di D 209 I promised that I would not abuse her kindness | Ward E 196 I promised that we would have more talk to-day | Walpole DF 41 She said that we would go together to the war, that I should be her knight and she my lady and that we would care for the wounds of the whole world. Ah! what a night that was—shall I ever forget it? | Kinglake E 222 I doubted, for a moment, whether I would give her a little rest . . . but I decided that I would not | Stevenson JHF 7 we told the man we would make such a scandal out of this as should make his name stink from one end of London to the other | Walpole Cp 447 I knew that I would always love Martin. I thought then that I should be able to make you happy.

Note here in four of the quotations the contrast between *would* and *should*.

I will (non-volitional; Irish or American) becomes *I would*:

Wilde D 87 I was afraid I would find you plunged in remorse | Norris O 253 I was so afraid I would be a wall-flower and sit up by mamma the whole evening.

Will I—instead of *shall I*—becomes *would I*:

Walpole DF 23 they asked me many questions about the future. Would we be close to the Front? . . . Would there be plenty of work, and would we really see things?

I shall or *shall I* remains *I shall*:

Try to find out whether I shall be there in time if I start now | he wants to know if we shall be there in time.

I shall or *shall I* becomes *I should*:

He tried to find out whether I (we) should be there in time | Di D 760 I believed I should die.—Exceptional in Rea Six 280 I don't know that I shall [N.B.] be able to face a party to-night.—What do you say?—I said that I didn't really know whether I would be able to come to-night or not.

21.1(2). *I will* becomes *you will*:

Thack P 101 However, promise us . . . that there shall [= dir.] be nothing clandestine, that you will pursue your studies . . .

Shall I becomes *you should*:

Keats 5.136 When I saw you last, you asked whether you should see me again before Christmas.

I should (preterit of imagination) becomes *you should*:

Austen S 341 If you could be assured of that, you think you should be easy.

21.1(3). *I will* (volition) becomes *he will*:

Keats 2.74 Angela gives promise she will do Whatever he shall wish, betide her weal or woe | Tenn 116 [she thinks:] O but she will love him truly! He shall have a cheerful home; She will order all things duly | James S 129 she says she will tell me.

I will (volition) becomes *he would*:

Johnson R 127 he said that he would consider what he should demand [= I will c. what I shall d.] | Di D 81 he told me not to make myself uneasy; he would take care it should be all right | Thack N 22 saying, in fact, that he would be deed if he beat the boy any more | Bennett RS 268 She listened . . . She would go upstairs. She would extinguish the light and go upstairs. No! She could not . . . | Lawrence L 158 the obstinate effort and tension of keeping awake. She would keep awake. She would know. She would consider and judge and decide. She would have the reins of her own life between her own hands | Gissing G 191 He asked me to look him up to-night, and he'd let me know all about it |

Beresford G 297 He had come to a pitch of determination. He must and would impose his creed upon his own family | Mackenzie SA 43 Edward vowed that this time if Elizabeth's life should be granted to him he really would grapple with life . . . that if he were granted not only the life of his Elizabeth, but also the life of her child he would devote his future to a worthy fatherhood, that even if himself should fail in his contest with life he would . . . what? | Kaye Smith GA 23 he said he'd be hemmed if he'd work for his father.

Note the following quotation which shows the difference in force between *will* and *want*: Barrie Adm. Cricht. 145 I had a note from Brocklehurst saying that he would come a few minutes before his mother as—as he wanted to have a talk with me.

I will = *shall* becomes *he would*:

Di Do 254 Florence began to hope that she would learn from her how to gain her father's love | Hardy R 284 Eustacia's dream had always been that, once married to Clyne, she would have the power of inducing him to return to Paris | ib 297 he found that when practice should have hardened his palms against blistering he would be able to work with ease | Wilde D 110 He wondered if he would ever be so dominated by the personality of a friend (Irish) | Wells H 440 [he thought:] They would be able to marry | id Bishop 318 he had thought he would have to argue against objections | Lewis B 282 All the while he was dreading the moment when he would be alone with his wife (Amr.).

Similarly in a question: Walpole Cp 17 Her mind was fixed on the future. What was it going to be? Would she have money as her uncle had said? Would she see London and the world? Would she find friends, people who would be glad to be with her?

We both will (Sweet's rule, above 16.3) becomes *they both would*: Swinnerton Nocturne 195 she thought of the future, of that time when they both would be free, when they should [N.B.] no longer be checked . . .

I shall becomes *he shall:*

Austen S 260 She says she never shall think well of anybody again | GE A 406 she says she shall stay with her to the very last moment.

In the following quotations *shall* is perhaps less natural than *will:* Sh Oth III. 3.173 to him that euer feares he shall be poor | Butler Ess 71 none can know when he shall die.

I shall or *shall I* becomes *he should:*

Caxton B 48 he answered that he shold doo the best and the worst that he coude | Fielding T 2.296 he knew he shouldn't be beyond the reach of her voice | ib 2.299 She said she hoped she should see him again soon | Quincey 282 Leibnitz may be said to have died partly of the fear that he should be murdered | Austen P 158 Mrs. Bennet said how happy they should be to see him at Longburn | Di Do 203 did Mr. Gills say when he should be home? He said he should be home early in the afternoon | ib 252 She seemed to hesitate whether or no she should advance to Florence | Morris E 46 the king knew, Long ere she moved, what he should see | Wells H 90 he inquired if he should serve tea in the garden | Hardy L 160 she felt herself free to bestow her heart as she should choose | Caine M 275 He was to walk by Pete's side, longing for what he knew they should not find | Hope D 9 he told me that he should never love any one again | Moore L 36 On Saturday morning he had sat at his window, asking himself if he should go down to see her or if he should send for her | Kennedy R 51 During those weeks he had often gone over this same ground with a heart on fire because he should so soon be seeing Lise | Bennett O 1.19 What time did mother say she should be back? | Moore L 107 he sat, pen in hand, uncertain if he should speak of Nora at all.

I should (preterit of imagination) becomes *he should:*

Sheridan 236 she almost hinted that she should not break her heart if I was dead | Austen P 21 they pronounced her to be a sweet girl, and one whom they should not object to know more of | Di Do 100 He said that he should wish himself dead if it wasn't for his mother | Di D 561 he said he should like it very much | Galsw Ca 598 [he said:] Nobody lived here now he should say || James A 1.163 she gave Newman the feeling [= Newman felt] that he should like to have her always before him.

But with *would* (19.6): Bentley T 40 it ended in her saying that, if you should come, she would like you to be helped in every way.

21.1(4). In the following quotations we see the distinction between volition and pure future expressed by the different auxiliaries:

Kingsley H 68 He held his breath in fearful suspense. Should he be seen? He would not die without a struggle at least | Chesterton F 71 the proprietor had told him that he should lock the door, and would come later to release him | Bennett LR 95 he pretended to himself to wonder what he should do next; but he knew what he would do next.

21.1(5). In other cases the two auxiliaries reflect different persons in the corresponding direct speech:

He thinks himself that *he shall* recover [= I shall r.], but the doctor says that *he will* die soon [= he, the patient, will d.].

Thus also with shifting of the tense:

Austen P 9 the rest of the evening was spent in conjecturing how soon he would [= will he] return Mr. Bennet's visit, and determining when they should [= shall we] ask him to dinner | Thack V 209 [the lawyer] asked Captain Osborne whether he would [= will you] take the sum in a cheque upon the bankers, or whether he should [= shall I] direct the latter to purchase stock to that amount.

She should as corresponding to a direct *I should*, and *it would* corresponding to *it would* are found together in

Lamb R 59 she fancied she should like to retrace these scenes . . . she fancied it would be very charming.

But in the following *they would* is not part of the indirect speech: Cowper L 1.135 People imagine they should be happy in circumstances which they would find burthensome in less than a week.

Direct Second Person.

21.2(1). *You will* (*will you*; volition) becomes *I would* (*would I*):

Ch A 811 [we] preyden him also That he wold vouche-sauf for to do so, And that he wolde been our governour . . . And we wold reuled been at his devys [will you . . . and we will] | Spect 132 he desired I would throw something into the box | Swift J 137 he desired I would dine with him | ib 25, 42, 55, 122 | Franklin 148 he came to me with a request that I would assist him . . . He then desired I would furnish him . . . He then desir'd I would at least give him my advice | Mary Shelley F 36 to renew her entreaties that I would write often | Di D 57 she said that she hoped I would repent | Shaw Ms 189 He asked me would I have some champagne; and I said it would cost too much, but that I would give anything for a dance | They told me he would soon be back. Would I wait? | Beerbohm Seven Men 134 He hoped I wouldn't think it great cheek, his asking me.

You will (instead of *you shall*, promise) becomes *I would*:

Doyle S 5.149 he said that if I married him I would have the finest diamonds in London.

If you will becomes *if I would*:

Spect 144 they told me, if I would be good and lie still, they would send somebody to take me up.

You will (future) becomes *I shall*, as *I will* would call up too strongly the idea of volition:

Do you think I shall recover soon?

You will becomes *I should* for the same reason:

Brontë J 43 and saying, 'She hoped I should be a good child,' she dismissed me | Hope D 102 saying as he passed that he hoped I shouldn't find it warm.

Note the distinction (direct *you will . . . if you will* or *you would . . . if you would*): Keats 4.186 She said I should please her much more if I would only press her hand and go away.

You would becomes *I would* (conditioned or weak volition):

Sheridan 244 Why should you think I would see him?

Would you (should you) becomes *I would*:

Di D 254 I had endeavoured to find a satisfactory answer to her question "What I would like to be" | Bentley T 35 Almost his first words were to ask me if I would like to see the body of the murdered man.

You shall becomes *I should*:

Galsw Ca 534 he came and proposed that I should go into partnership with him.

21.2(2). *You shall* becomes *you should*:

Cowper L 2.1 Our design was, that you should have slept in the room that serves me for a study | Henley B 40 I desired that you should recognise me for a gentleman.

Should you becomes *you should*:

GE M 1.251 If you had a brother like me, do you think you should have loved him as well as Tom?

21.2(3). *Will you?* (volition) becomes *would he*:

Di Do 252 Susan said, would she [Florence] go down stairs to her papa, who wished to speak to her.

You shall becomes *he should*:

Parker R 260 in another hour she would know where her child was—the tailor had promised that she should.

Shall you becomes *she should*:

Mered H 28 He asked Rose if she should be sorry.

Should you becomes *he should*:

Di P 386 [She] had heard Pickwick ask the little boy how he should like to have another father [cf. ib 378 How should you like to have another father?].

Direct Third Person.

21.3(1). *He will* becomes *I will*, if volition is implied, otherwise *I shall*: thus that auxiliary is used which would be natural if there were no shifting:

He thinks I will go there | he thinks I shall soon die | Sh Lr II. 4.286 you think Ile weepe.

Sweet says (§ 2202 e): "In such a sentence as *he says he hopes I will be there* . . . the person of 'I' is regarded from the point of view of 'he', as if the sentence were in the form *he said 'I hope you* (or *he*) *will be there.*' So also in *(he said) he was afraid we would not (be able to) come.* In both of these instances *shall (should)* is admissible, and would probably be substituted by many on second thoughts, but the construction with *will* is the genuinely colloquial one."

He will (or *would*) becomes *I should*:

Hope D 37 you told Dolly that I should make an excellent wife for a trainer | Brontë V 414 they thought I should die.

I would is Irish in Moore L 194 for several days the doctor could not say whether I would live or die.

21.3(2). *He will* remains *he will* (volition and future):

The boy says it will be good.

He will becomes *he would*:

Di D 433 I hoped the time might even come, when he would cease to lead the lonely life | id Do 260 she was never afraid that something would happen to her | Priestley B 69 Philip turned to his supper and wondered who would speak next.

With the perfect infinitive (before-future in direct speech):

Gissing H 161 he gravely expressed his conviction that before Michaelmas the time for payment would have arrived | Kaye Smith T 131 [he thought:] in time the blunder would have been lived down.

Will he becomes *he will (he would)*:

I want to know if he will suffer much | I wanted to know if he would suffer much | Di Do 185 He sat wondering when Edith would come back.

He would remains *he would*:

She thought he would pay if he could (which can correspond to *he will if he can* as well as to *he would if he could*).

He shall becomes *he should*:

Osborne 35 we could not reasonably hope he should outlive this day | Wordsw P 11.251 I wished that man Should start out of his earthy, wormlike state | [in these two sentences *would* is now more natural] | Kaye Smith T 66 She vowed to herself that she would break his pride, that the day should come when he should look down on her no longer.

This is particularly frequent after expressions of determination, request, etc. in the preterit (cf. *shall* above 17.3(1)).

Sh R3 III. 5.52 Yet had we not determin'd he should dye, Untill your lordship came | Mi Co 763 do not charge most innocent nature, As if she would her children should be riotous | Fielding T 1.11 he ordered that proper clothes should be procured for it early in the morning | Kinglake E 229 I took care that there should be no repetition of the torture | ib 230 the governor directed that the prisoners should be brought in.

Cf. on *should* after a verb in the present tense 20.2(4).

Shall he (= is he to) becomes *he should*:

AV Mat 2.4 when he had gathered all the chiefe Priests & Scribes of the people together, hee demanded of them where Christ should be borne. 20th CV. So he called together all the Chief Priests and Rabbis in the nation, and began making enquiries of them as to where the Christ was to be born.

Doubtful Cases.

21.4(1). In the following sentences we seem to have *would* = a back-shifted *will* rather than the direct expression of the after-past mentioned in 19.4(1):

Vachell H 248 The cheering was lukewarm as yet. It would have fire enough in it presently [= they thought: it will] | Walpole W 75 He was to be of great importance in Janet's life. His love of and fidelity to Wildherne she would one day know, know in a dark hour when she needed that knowledge | ib 103 Janet was ready for the great family party. In half an hour's time she would have surrendered herself to Purefoys, Darrants . . . In half an hour's time she would be standing there simply that they might gaze upon her . . . And she was not afraid | Bennett Acc 54 He was travelling by express; in a few minutes he would be rushing through the darkness at a hundred kilometres an hour | Mottram EM 60 There was no work that evening, but Miss Branch would address the school | Aumonier Q 223 a number of boys who only last summer were playing tennis on their court were now in the trenches and many would never play again.

21.4(2). *Shall*, shifted into *should* in a report of someone's past speech or thoughts sometimes comes to resemble the archaic use of *should* in the after-past (20.1(2))—it is not always easy to see whether we have really indirect speech or a simple relation of what was to happen:

Quincey Sel 12 Hastily I kissed the lips that I should kiss no more | Stevenson T 83 It was about the last days of our outward voyage . . . some time that night, or, at latest, before noon of the morrow, we should sight the Treasure Island | ib 139 We were now close in; thirty or forty strokes and we should beach her | Kaye Smith GA 40 his work was giving her to him more surely than any caresses, bringing nearer the day when she should belong to him | Maxwell BY 9 large stones with which he had to build the separation wall that henceforth should stand between him and her [his thought: it shall . . .].

Should in Temporal Clauses.

21.5. In temporal Clauses we have *should* corresponding to the use of *shall* mentioned in 18.4(3), when the main verb is in the past. The reference therefore is to a time that is future in regard to some time in the past (after-past, see 1.1). But the examples are placed here with 'indirect time', because they contain more or less distinct renderings of someone's past sayings or thoughts; generally there is a collateral meaning of purpose.

21.5(1). This is particularly frequent after *till* and *until*:

AV Matt 18.30 he cast him into prison, till hee should pay the debt | ib 18.34 his lord deliuered him to the tormentors, till hee should pay all that was due vnto him | Johnson R 37 he was confined in a private palace till the order of succession should call him to the throne | Poe S 245 I dismissed all further reflection until I should be alone | Di Do 184 Mr. Dombey sat down to watch them until Edith should return | Thack P 147 But at present, and until the pain of the separation should be over, she entreated they should not meet | Macaulay H 1.184 they were not ashamed to hint that there would never be peace in Ireland till the old Irish should be extirpated | Caine M 377 she had . . . asked shelter until the storm should cease.

21.5(2). With the perfect infinitive, e. g.

Di Do 66 the old lady deemed it prudent to retreat until he should have forgotten the subject | Hardy T 126 she could not be comfortable there till long years should have obliterated her keen consciousness of it | Doyle S 2.130 I hesitated to jump, until I should have heard what passed.

21.5(3). The difference between *should* as indicating someone's thought and the simple preterit to indicate the actual fact is seen in Di D 161 I would have taken my leave for the night, but he would not hear of my doing that until the stranger's bell should ring. So I sat at the staircase window, until he came out with another chair and joined me.

21.5(4). *Should*, however, is now felt as somewhat stiff and formal, and the natural tendency is to use the simple preterit and pluperfect, even when the implication is something imagined: Di Do 410 she determined not to go to bed until Edith returned | ib 115 He secreted himself in a retired spot until she had gone.

21.5(5). The same *should* after other conjunctions:

Before:

Di Do 210 I wished to see you before we should have news of my dear boy | Stevenson JHF 153 they strolled out to have a pipe before business should begin again | Dreiser F 60 he now fell to and ate before any other should disturb him | he hastened home to be there before the guests should arrive.

After with the perfect infinitive:

Di D 166 This I had in my pocket ready to put on the box, after I should have got it out of the house | Trollope Aut 79 he asked me . . . undertaking to give me an answer within a fortnight after he should have received my work | McKenna S 50 I had serious misgivings for the school's future after I should have left.

When:

Behn 335 his title was equal to that of Vernole, when his father should die | Brontë W 242 Catherine entered, announcing that she was ready, when her pony should be saddled | Di Do 316 As for his home, she hoped it would become a better one, when its state of novelty should be over | ib 392 he trotted along by his master's side, prepared to hold his stirrup when he should alight | Thack P 153 everybody was looking out for the day when he should appear in the Gazette | Garnett T 54 they were now buried in slumber and of course would only speak when they should awake | Bennett LR 71 he pictured Delphin's simple, tremendous adoration, when he should tell them the news | Rose Macaulay T 148 She and the boy meant, when they should be grown up, to fit out a Fram for themselves | Williamson L 277 What I meant to do was to whisk out, so that when Mr. Winston should come, he would find me gone | Lewis EG 99 He was going into Y. M. C. A. work when he should have a divinity degree | Dane L 180 I was longing to see their faces when they should at last turn and see her.

Sometimes it may be doubtful whether we have indirect speech or not: Thack P 898 It wanted but very, very few days before that blisful one when Foker should call Blanche his own.

When with the perfect infinitive:

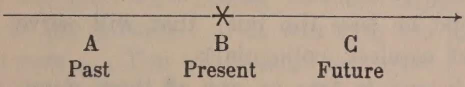
Austen P 237 She tried to compose herself to answer him with patience, when he should have done | Di D 393 (he said) that the first thing he contemplated doing, when the advertisement should have been the cause of something satisfactory turning up, was to move | Norris O 594 she hurried off, thinking to return to her post after the policeman should have gone away [more natural: had gone].

Chapter XXII.
Notional Survey.

In the previous chapters we have—generally at any rate—started from the grammatical (or functional) categories recognized by the English language (such as present tense, preterit, *will*, etc.) and then inquired into their meanings (functions, uses). In this chapter it will be our purpose to start from the notions concerning time that are universal, independent of any special linguistic features, and then to examine how far and in what way they are expressed in the English verb. To some extent this will be a mere (shorter) repetition of what has already been said, only turned the other way, so that now we shall look from the inside at the same things which we have been regarding from the outside: still the new viewpoint will allow us to bring together things whose connexion was perhaps obscured by the former arrangement; and some things will be dealt with here at some length which could not easily find a place in the previous chapters.

Principal Divisions of Time.

22.1. We shall first take up again the normal divisions of time as expressed graphically in the diagram of a straight line given in 1.1, dealing first with the three principal divisions of time, past, present, and future, and leaving for a moment the subordinate divisions, before-past, after-past, before-future, and after-future.



22.1(1). The simple *past time* (A or Ab) is expressed in the following ways in the English verb:

He *left* on Monday.
Everybody *admired* her.
He *was admired* by everyone.
I *was born* here.
England is not what it *was*.
I *used to know* him pretty well.
He *was dining* when I came.
The house *was being rebuilt* at the time.
Well, *says* he, . . .
I *had got* no time.

(Supposition:) Tea *would be* waiting.

(Possibility:) He *might be* very rich, but he was no gentleman.

22.1(2). The simple *present time* (B) is expressed by the following means:

He *lives* at No. 27.
He *is staying* at the Savoy.
Everybody *admires* her.
She *is admired* by everybody.
This *isn't done.*
The house *is being rebuilt.*
I've *got* no time.
(Supposition:) Tea *will be* ready by now.
(Possibility:) He *may be* very rich, but he is no gentleman.

22.1(3). Expressions of the simple *future time* (C or Cb):

He *leaves* on Monday (note that *on Monday* means a different day from that in 22.1(1)).

I *am dining* with them on Monday.

If it *rains* to-morrow, what then?

Stevenson T 131 If any one of you six *make* a signal of any description, that man's dead.

I hope he *loses* the bus; that will serve him right (somewhat careless, colloquial).

He *is sure to turn up* one of these days.
He *will turn up* one of these days.
The moon *will* soon *rise.*
I *shall call* on them one of these days.
When at last the end *comes*, it *will come* quickly.
Everybody *will admire* her.
She *will be admired* by everybody.
The house *will be rebuilt* next year.
Come again next week.
(Possibility:) He *may leave* on Monday.

Cf. 13.5(2) on the difference between *people will come* | *people are coming* | *people will be coming*; to which might be added: *people are going to come* (22.3(4)) | *people may come.*

It is time he *left* (9.6).

22.1(4). Here must be mentioned also the phrase *am* (*is*, etc.) *to* with the infinitive: the usual meaning of obligation, destiny, etc. (what am I to do? | the Minister is to speak to-night) may be weakened, exactly as the corresponding meaning of *shall* is weakened when it serves to denote future time. Examples:

Sh Merch I. 1.5 But how I caught it . . . I am to learne | H4A IV. 1.54 the hope of what is to come in | Haggard S 163 the weary ages that have been and are yet to come | Wells in NP '14 you [Americans] are only the beginning of what you are to be.

22.1(5). In the following quotations we see different expressions of the future, each with its separate nuance:

Di P 26 Do you remain long here? . . . I think we shall leave here the day after to-morrow. . . . I trust I shall have the pleasure of seeing you . . . are you disengaged this evening? . . . Perhaps you and your friend will join us at the Bull.—With great pleasure; will ten o'clock be too late? . . . I shall be most happy to introduce you to my friends . . . It will give me great pleasure, I am sure . . . You will be sure to come? | McKenna M 153 Will you join Dr. Manisty in Asia Minor? He's coming home soon for the malaria season, but he'll be going out again in the autumn | Walpole W 238 [servant:] Will you be sleeping here? = 239 [father:] Are you staying the night? | Kennedy CN 280 I shan't see Tessa any more . . . You . . . you won't be seeing me again either, you know | Galsw C 244 I shall be seeing these people myself to-morrow afternoon. I shall do my best to make them see reason.

22.1(6). The expression of futurity may be strengthened by the insertion of a verb of movement, as in

Di D 93 I wish that you may come to be ashamed of what you have done to-day [*may be ashamed* might refer to the present time] | Stevenson JHF 61 some day, after I am dead, you may perhaps come to learn the right and wrong of this | Gissing B 304 she will get to be fond of me | you'll soon get to feel at home here | Hardy R 293 they may get to be friends.

Come to, get to may here be considered a substitute for the missing future infinitive (cf. 7.2).

Cf. (1) in indirect speech Benson Dodo 15 If I thought you loved him, or would ever get to love him, I should be jealous; (2) in a temporal clause (cf. 2.5(1), 18.9(8)) Di F 566 when you come to be as old as I am; and (3) the verbal substantive Russell Soc. Reconstr. 77 what hope there is of their coming not to tolerate it.

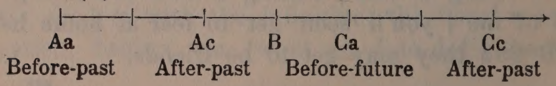
22.1(7). I subjoin a few examples, in which various time-indications are contrasted with one another:

Swift T 89 the secretaries, who did, and do, and ever will, daily gasp and pant | By L 115 I have not and shall not answer . . . whatever I may, and have, or shall feel | Shelley P 73 man is a being . . . existing but in the future and the past; being not what he is, but what he has been and shall be | Mackenzie Rogues 98 these vile continental plays that have degraded, are degrading, and will continue to degrade the sacred fane of Thespis | Bennett P 113 enquire in a friendly way, what he has done, is doing, and hopes to do | Rose Macaulay P 92 you think we're falling, or fallen, or about to fall, in love | Jerome Cats and Dogs 60 in the circles I am speaking of, what "dear Fido" has done, does do, will do, won't do, can do, can't do, was doing, is doing, is going to do, shall do, shan't do, and is about to be going to have done, is the continual theme of discussion from morning till night | Locke HB 237 she felt that she was justified in all that she had done, was doing, and was going to do.

Note here the frequency of the expanded tense in speaking of the present, and the various more or less circuitous ways of speaking of the future. In the Byron quotation *have* without the participle is of course irregular, as if parallel to *may* and *shall*, which take the infinitive.

Subordinate Divisions of Time.

22.2(1).



Before-past (Aa):

He *had left* before I arrived.

When he *had gone* out of the room, she burst out sobbing.

After he *left* England, a son was born to him.

22.2(2). After-past (Ac, between Ab and B):

Here the element of 'pastness' is always expressed by means of the preterit (of an auxiliary verb), but the futuric element is expressed in various ways.

The usual expression is *was to* with the infinitive (cf. *is to* in 22.1(4)). Examples:

Wyclif John 12.4 Iudas Scarioth, oon of hise disciplis, that was to bitraye him, seide (AV which should betray him) | Swift 3.176 as if she had some foreboding of what was to happen | Defoe G 30 the day before he was going to be hang'd | Goldsm V 1.57 When the morning arrived on which we were to entertain our young landlord | Macaulay H 2.191 It was Monday night. On Wednesday Monmouth was to die | Ru S 171 They did not know much about what was to happen next day | Lang T 19 Cambridge, which he was soon to leave, did not satisfy the poet | Doyle M 14 this, however, I was only to find out afterwards | Wells H 59 Mr. Brumley's interest in Lady Harman was to be almost too crowded by detail before that call was over | Williamson L 89 Mary Stuart . . . living there the happiest days that she was ever to know | Hardy R 417 she wandered to and fro, not far from the house she was soon to leave | Galsw Frat 125 One of these, a young woman . . . was clearly very soon to have a child.

Mandeville 87 the sacrement, that was to comene | Goldsm V 1.142 Though I was already sufficiently mortified, my greatest struggle was to come | Maxwell G 30 If Lance had told her a little more . . . things might have been better for her in the time that was to come.

Macaulay E 4.107 it seemed probable that a single generation would suffice to spread the reformed doctrine.

But this was not to be | Bennett T 404 I've never had children of my own—that was not to be ‖ Goldsm V 2.219 Lady Thornhill (that was to be) | Di M 213 The son-in-law that was to be gave a slight nod (cf. III. 8.2).

Note the contrast between the actual past and the after-past expressed in rather an unusual way in J. E. Wells, Owl & Night. intr. 51 those who had wrung the Charter from John, who were making and to make England.

The use of the infinitive after *was* is the same as in the infinitive of (providential) result, e. g.

More U 95 sufferyng wickednes to increase, afterward to be punyshed | Sh Hml V. 2.329 Loe, heere I lye, Neuer to rise againe | Hunt A 173 the seed was sown, to ripen under pleasanter circumstances | Macaulay E 4.48 in an hour the forces of Surajah Dowlah were dispersed, never to reassemble | Di D 116 I little thought then that I left it [the house], never to return.

Was to is differently used in Goldsm V 2.72 they were to be married, he said, in a few days. Here we have a back-shifted (indirect, cf. ch. XI) *are to,* and nothing is really said about the actual happening of the marriage between then and now as in the instances just exemplified.—Similarly GE M 2.148 asking Lucy if she knew when the bazaar was at length to take place | Galsw Two Fors. Interl. 35 The last day came, and dismay descended on John. To-morrow, early, he was going back to his peaches at Southern Pines!

On *was to have* with a participle see 10.8(7).

22.2(3). Another way of expressing after-past time is by means of *was destined (fated) to* with the infinitive; thus the event is—even more than in the case of *was to*—looked upon as willed by a fate which is now known to us, but which could not be known at the time:

Mary Shelley F 72 I did not conceive the hundredth part of the anguish I was destined to endure | Macaulay H 1.3 Nothing in the early history of Britain indicated the greatness which she was destined to attain | Di P 249 He was not destined, however, to undergo this additional trial of patience | Kingsley H 342 But he was not destined to arrive there as soon as he had hoped to do | McCarthy 2.15 Cobden had never dreamed of the nature of the support his motion was destined to receive | Hardy L 187 for him, too, the year was destined to have its surprises | Wells T 46 It was here that I was destined, at a later date, to have a very strange experience || Swinburne L 114 I do think Redgie is fated to make him 'crever' with rage.

22.2(4). In some cases parallel to those in which the expanded present tense can serve to denote future time, the expanded preterit may be used to denote after-past time:

Maugham Painted Veil 68 They *were dining out* that evening and when he came back from the Club she was dressing | Milne P 116 It was on the Somme. We *were attacking* the next day and my company was in support.

22.2(5). We have already mentioned the use of *would* and *should* to express after-past time and the difficulty sometimes felt of keeping this distinct from the same auxiliaries used in indirect speech (see 19.4(1), 20.1(2), cf. also 19.2(4)). A few more examples which have recently come to my hand may find their place here:

Walpole Rogue Herries 77 The three children . . . Anabel was good-natured . . . Raiseley was clever . . . Judith would be beautiful; she was dark and slender . . . | Seton W Plan 184 A motor car brought Lieutenant Messer to the house. Rosa and Frau Muller were in the garden reading. Herr Blesch would return for dinner.

Cf. also 22.3 on prospective past.

22.2(6). The following use of *came* with the infinitive may also be reckoned as an expression of after-past time; it is connected with the temporal value of *come*, which we have seen in various places:

Di D 216 the influence for all good, which she came to exercise over me at a later time | Bentley T 8 In a few years he came to control all the activity of the great firm.

22.2(7). Before-future (Ca, between B and Cb):

I shall let you know as soon as I *shall have heard* from them.

He will let you know as soon as he *will have heard* from them.

(These two are pedantic; the following expressions are the natural ones.)

I shall let you know as soon as I *hear* from them.

He will let you know as soon as he *hears* from them.

Wait till the rain *stops.*

We shall start at 5 p. m. if it *has stopped* raining by that time (5.6(3)).

This day week I hope to *have finished* my work (7.3(2)).

Fulg 45 Whan *wyll* ye *have do?* | Sh Gent II. 4.120 When you *haue done,* we look to hear from you | Swift J 485 I'*ll have done* with them.

Cf. 16.6, 18.4(4), 18.8 and 22.3(3).

22.2(8). After-future (Cc).

The need for this division of time is not often felt; it is not kept distinct from the usual future if we say, for instance:

If you come at seven, dinner *will* soon *be* ready.

A natural expression for what at some future time is still to come is a negative sentence:

If you come at seven, we *shall not have dined* (. . . the sun *will not have set*); cf. PG 263.

Cf. further prospective future 22.3(6).

Retrospective and Prospective.

22.3. Outside the simple series of 'times' forming, as it were, one straight line, we have other time relations which do not fit into the series because they imply something else beside the pure idea of time. First we have *retrospective and prospective times.* A retrospective present is a variety of present which comprises the idea of result of something that has happened before the present time. From the point of view of the present we look back into the past. In a similar way a prospective present is a variety of present which looks forward into the future: the present is viewed as preparing the future. Theoretically we may distinguish retrospective and prospective varieties of each of the seven divisions of time, but in practice they are in many cases indistinguishable from the simple 'times' already dealt with. We may symbolize these varieties by means of arrows pointing to the left or to the right in our diagram; thus a retrospective present is ←——— B, and a prospective present is B ———→.

Retrospective.

22.3(1). A retrospective past (←——— A) is seen, for instance, in

He *had read* the whole book before noon.

This is practically identical with the before-past (Aa), and like it is expressed by means of the pluperfect (Ch. VI).

22.3(2). A retrospective present (←——— B), on the other hand, is in English kept distinct from the past (preterit); the linguistic means is the perfect, see ch. V, and with regard to the passive ch. VIII.

He *has forgotten* all about it.

(He *is gone*, *is become*, see ch. III.)

The book *is written* in beautiful English.

Now that all my letters *have been written*, I'll post them.

(Supposition:) He *will have forgotten* all about it | Bennett Imp. Pal. 336 And what's the news to-day about Miss Maclaren, miss? I suppose you*'ll have been hearing?*
(Possibility:) He *may have forgotten* all about it.

(But these also correspond to the past, and thus may be equivalent to: 'I think he forgot all about it' or 'It is possible that he forgot all about it', besides corresponding to '. . . he has forgotten'.)

Note the indication of a short distance in time from the present moment: He *has been drinking* (13.2(4)); the same idea is often expressed by a subjunct: He *has just written.*

22.3(3). A retrospective future (←——— C) is not to be distinguished from the before-future exemplified in 22.2(7).

Note that in some of the examples there given both the futuric and the retrospective element are expressed (as soon as I *shall have heard*), in others the retrospective element only is expressed (if it *has stopped* raining by that time), and finally in some again neither (as soon as I *hear*).

Prospective.

22.3(4). There are some phrases which often serve to denote 'prospectiveness' with various degrees of proximity: thus with regard to present time (B ———→):

She *is on the point of (on the brink of)* crying.

She *is about to cry.*

She *is going to cry.*

The *going-to* phrase has already been discussed (14.2).

These phrases do not predict anything about what will happen in future and therefore could not be mentioned in 22.1(3): her bursting out crying may be prevented in some way or other.

22.3(5). Correspondingly we have a prospective past (A ———→), which should not be confounded with the after-past (Ac, 22.2(2) ff.).

She *was on the point of crying.*

Stevenson T 84 I had either fallen asleep, or *was on the point of doing* so, when a heavy man sat down with rather a clash close by.

I *was about to protest* when Mr. Smith interrupted me.

When *was he going to write* that letter? (or with the perfect infinitive to denote what was not accomplished . . . *going to have written* . . .).

On the use of the perfect infinitive here see 10.7(5).

22.3(6). Prospective futures (C ———→) are perfectly possible though in actual speech they are not very frequent:

She *will be on the point of crying* when you break the news to her.

I *shall be about to cry* if you go on.

When *will* he *be going* to write that letter?

Inclusive Time.

22.4. The term inclusive time and the various ways of indicating it have already been dealt with in ch. 4.6 ff. The symbol used is ———→ before the letter indicating the end of the time included:

———→ A: He *had lived* there three years.
———→ B: He *has lived* there three years.
———→ C: Next year he *will have lived* there three years.

Infinitive: If his golden wedding is to be next year, he must now *have been married* forty-nine years.

On the exceptional use of the present tense see 4.7.

Indirect Time.

22.5. In indirect speech (dependent on a main sentence belonging to the past—expressed or implied) the tenses are generally shifted one step to the left in our diagram, but this shifting has no influence on the notional value of the verb: in "How did you know I *was* here?" the preterit *was* means not past, but present time. As a symbol we may choose x added to the letter indicating the time, e. g. for the present time Bx, in which x means that B is 'crossed' with some other time-indication,—it is not necessary in the symbol to state expressly which one.

Very little need here be added to the full treatment in ch. XI, but it should be said expressly that *would* as a back-shifted *will* does not enter into the ordinary time-scheme in 22.2(1) as After-past; the sentence

He said that no good *would* ever *come* of it
[= He said: 'No good will ever come of it']

does not refer to some time between 'then' (the time of saying it) and now, but to any time subsequent on 'then', whether before or after the present moment. It is therefore related to, though not identical with, the prospective past.

Back-shifting generally affects those tenses only that are formed by means of the present-tense forms:

he said that
[she takes]: she took her meals there every day.
[she has taken]: she had taken her meals there every day.
[she will take]: she would take her meals there every day.

If in direct speech we have the preterit-form, it is generally unchanged in indirect speech:

he said that
[she had taken]: she had taken her meals there every day.
[she was to have taken]: she was to have taken her meals there every day.
[she would take]: she would take her meals there every day (if the food was good).
[she should take]: she should take her meals there every day.

Cf. 11.1(1), 11.2(3), 11.5(2), 11.6(1).

Therefore, *would* in itself in indirect speech may be either a direct *will* or a direct *would*, and *should* either a direct *shall* or a direct *should*.

The simple preterit may be shifted (11.1(1)), but this is not always the case: "There was some shooting yesterday" may be rendered either "He said that there was some shooting yesterday" or "He said that there had been some shooting yesterday" or, finally, "He said that there had been some shooting the day before".

Indirect before-future, see 21.3(2), 22.9(2).

Unreality and Uncertainty.

22.6. In chapters IX and X on "The Imaginative Use of Tenses" we have dealt at some length with the idea of unreality as implied in the back-shifting of various tense-forms. As a symbol we may choose a zero added to the letter denoting a division of time. But it should be noted that while in wishes the three divisions of time are easily kept apart, this is not always the case with hypothetical statements: the auxiliaries *would* and *should*, which would seem properly to belong to the future only, are in the main sentence used for the present as well; and the pluperfect may be used in speaking not only of the past, but also of the present time.

22.6(1). AO imaginative past:

I wish I *had had* money enough [implying: I had not money enough].

Had he *been* able to smile, he *would have smiled*
Could he *have* smiled, he *would have smiled*
[but he was not able to smile, he could not smile].

Cf. 9.3(6), 9.5(3).

22.6(2). BO imaginative present time.

I wish I *was* there [= I am not there].

If he *were (was)* here, he *would defend* himself [= he is not here].

If I *had had* the money [now], I *should have paid* you (9.7(9)).

22.6(3). CO imaginative future time.

As it is humanly impossible to deny anything with regard to the future, it is quite natural that the negative idea is not so strong here as in the preceding sections. Therefore the imaginative tense-forms in the following sentences imply nothing else but uncertainty or at most improbability.

I wish he *would recover* [= I am afraid he will not r.].

It *would be* a pity if he *didn't get* the job.

If he *recovered* I *should rejoice.*

If he *were to (should)* recover I should rejoice.

Only in the last sentences the futuric idea is expressly indicated in the conditional clause. This is especially necessary if the main sentence is not hypothetical:

If Tom *were to call (should call)* in the afternoon, tell him to wait till I come back.

Here *were to* or *should* brings out more clearly the element of uncertainty inherent in all conditional sentences, even in the simple "If Tom *calls* (archaic *call* or *shall call*), tell him to wait".

22.6(4). In connexion with the expressions of unreality we may refer to various expressions for an unaccomplished design, etc.: he *ought to have gone* | you *should have seen* Tom | I *was to have left* | I *was going to reply* | he *would have liked to see (to have seen)*, see Index s. v. Unfulfilled.

Beginning. Continuance.

22.7(1). The beginning of a state or of an action ("inchoative or ingressive aspect") is sometimes implied in verbal forms or phrases dealt with in this volume. The most typical instance is the passive of becoming (ch. VIII), sometimes with the auxiliary *be*, but more explicitly when the auxiliaries *get* and *become* are used. Further we have combinations with (*a* +) ing mentioned in 12.2, e. g. *burst out (a) laughing*, *fall a crying*, *get talking*. In 5.7 we saw the inchoative force of *first*: *since we were first married*, and in 5.8(1) we saw that *since I was* may come to mean 'since I became'. See also on *am going to* 14.2 and on *am dying* 14.3(1). A confusion between the beginning of a state and its duration is mentioned in 4.7(3—5).

The inchoative force of *sit down*, *lie down*, etc., has been treated in III. 16.7.

I forget originally means the beginning of the psychological state which is the reverse of remembering ('I cease to remember'), but it comes to mean also the state itself ('I do not remember') 2.8(2).

The formalistic explanation of this through assimilation of *v-f* in *I've forget* with the rare obsolete participle *forget* (Franz, Sh-Gr. p. 517) is very far-fetched indeed: psychologically the transition is easy enough to explain, cf. the contrast with *remember* in my quotation from Goldsmith.

22.7(2). The continuance of an action or state during the beginning or happening of something else, so that the former is regarded as a frame for the latter, is implied in the expanded forms, see chapters XII—XIV.

Continuance is often indicated by *on*: *read on*, *go on reading*.

Habit.

22.8. While there are no particular forms in the English verb to denote habit or repetition, these ideas are often more or less implicitly expressed in verb-forms (see Index sub Habit, Repetition), e. g.

22.8(1). A: He *came* here every week.

He *used to come* here regularly.

He *would* sit for hours without saying a word (*would* generally implies more intermittent acts than *used to*; cp. "I used to know him pretty intimately").

He *was in the habit of going* there once a week.

22.8(2). B: He *comes* here every week.

The boat *leaves* at 8.30 (every morning).

He *will sit* for hours without saying a word.

He *is in the habit of going* there once a week.

22.8(3). C: I *shall call* there at least once a week.

The train *will run* ten times a day from next month.

We may, of course, have corresponding expressions in the subordinate divisions of time, e. g.

Aa: He *had been in the habit of going* there every week.

22.8(4). Generic time may be said to imply habit extended to the utmost limit, where 'habitually' becomes 'always':

Twice two *is* four.

Gold *is* heavier than silver.

Men *were* deceivers ever.
Cf. 2.1(1—3), 5.5.

Conclusions.

22.9(1). We have finished our survey of the English tenses and other time-indications by means of verbal forms. The whole of this volume has shown us that the English language possesses a wonderfully rich system capable of expressing a great many subtle shades of thought, and of expressing them by comparatively simple means. If we compare the English system with such a language as Latin, we see that English has really a greater number of nuances than Latin, in spite of the fact that the number of verbal forms is considerably smaller in the former language. The reason for this greater expressiveness of fewer forms is that the English form-elements are to a great extent independent auxiliary words, and that very many of the verbal forms have in course of time been delivered from those elements indicating number, person and mood which in the older stages of our family of languages are indissolubly amalgamated with the verbal forms themselves. Such forms as *can*, *may*, *will*, *took*, *ended*, etc., are used unchanged in all three persons and in both numbers, nor do they show whether they are indicative or subjunctive. Only in a few survivals we have still such formal changes as abound in Latin and other old languages (present tense *take* : *takes*; *am* : *is* : *are*; *have* : *has*; preterit *was* : *were*).

We have also seen some important changes even in the last few centuries. Some of them, chiefly the full development of the expanded tenses (ch. XII—XIV) and the differentiation of the passive forms (ch. VIII), have considerably increased the expressiveness of the English verbal system.

22.9(2). Attention should here be called especially to the various ways in which 'looking before and after' is combined:

After-past 22.2(2—6).
Before-future 22.2(7).
Retrospective future 22.3(3).
Prospective past 22.3(5).
Indirect future 22.5.

Indirect before-future: He said that he should let us know as soon as he *should have heard* from them (as soon as he *had heard*, or he *heard* from them) | Gissing H 161 he gravely expressed his conviction that before Michaelmas the time for payment *would have arrived* | Delafield Turn Back 62 The thought of the future, when she *would have become* too old to be employed as a governess any more, often frightened her very much. Cf. 21.3(2).

22.9(3). All this should not, however, make us blind to the fact that, admirable as the verbal system is in many respects, it is far from being an ideal one—no existing language is perfect in every respect. The most important deficiency is probably found in the expressions for future time, because (as pointed out in ch. XVIII) the two auxiliary verbs *will* and *shall* have to do duty for the three notions of volition, obligation and futurity. Hence, to take only a few examples, *Shall I?* sometimes asks for advice *(Shall I put on my overcoat?)*, sometimes is a simple question of the future *(Shall I recover, do you think?)*; *will have* means two different things in *Who will have some lemonade?* and *Who will have the greatest influence on the decision?*, cf. also *He will not yield* and *He will not succeed.* Some of the drawbacks of the double meaning of *will* are being obliterated by the increased use of *want, mean* and other verbs where real volition is meant.

Here and there we have pointed out other ambiguities, as when *has been* with the second participle corresponds now to German *ist . . . gewesen,* now to *ist . . . geworden,* and *is done* now to *wird getan*, now to *ist getan* (thus is practically = *has been done*; the latter complicated phrase is now used very often where formerly *is done* was usual, 8.3(3)).

"He hasn't lived there for three years" is ambiguous; it may mean that (he used to live there, but) it is three years since he left, or else that he lives there, but it is less than three years since he came.

Still it must be conceded that such ambiguities have more theoretical than practical interest: it is seldom that they lead to serious misunderstandings. *Would* is easily understood in the following sentences in spite of the fact that the same verbal form has different meanings:

She would not return [single fact of volition in the past].

She would return to the place over and over again [habit in the past].

I should be glad if she would return [imaginative volition in the future].

She would die if she returned [imaginative, non-volitional].

She said that everything would be all right [indirect future].

22.9(4). It is undoubtedly of greater consequence than any of the ambiguities just mentioned that some very important verbs are defective in so far as they have no infinitives and no participles and thus can be used neither in the perfect and pluperfect nor in the expanded tenses: *can, may, must, shall, will* (cf. 1.4, 14.6(9), 15.5(3), 19.1(6)). We have seen the preterit *could* used where the pluperfect would have been more appropriate (9.3(6), 9.5(2)). "When can he have written that letter?" is often said instead of the impossible "When has he could write" (G. Wann hat er den brief schreiben können?).

As *can* has no infinitive, it is impossible to say "I seem not to can help it"; it is, of course, possible here to say "I seem unable to . . .", but another way out of the difficulty is more and more frequently resorted to, namely to shift *can* before *seem* (cf. the shifting in *shall hope*, etc., 7.2(5)):

Beresford Mount. Moon 88 Well, it's true, and I can't seem to help it | Galsw Sw 96 He couldn't seem to remember ever having seen an English gardener otherwise than about to work | Bentley T 241 she couldn't ever seem to get the habit of spending money.

This is particularly frequent in recent American writers:

Howells S 1.26 I couldn't seem to bear the idea | Twain H 1.157 he couldn't seem to shake it loose | Dreiser F 64 he could seem to get no hold upon his adversary | Lewis B 288 Gee, I can't seem to get away from thinking about folks [the novels of Sinclair Lewis abound in examples] | Hergesheimer Marriage 54 You can't seem to learn that Eldreda's delicate.

There is something similar to this in the following sentences: Mi SA 259 But they persisted deaf, and would not seem To count them things worth notice |which means: and it seemed as if they would not . . .] | Galsw Sw 83 yet, of late, since she had been round the world, he had seemed to notice something quieter in her conduct [= he seemed to have noticed].

The lack of an infinitive of *can* seems also to have led to *couldn't use to* (5.3(2)): Hardy R 24 The class of folk that couldn't use to make a round O can write their names now [= used to be unable to . . .]. In Lancashire dialect there is a form [a juˑs tə kud] = 'I used to be able to' (Hargreaves, Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington, 96).

22.9(5). In various places in the preceding chapters attention has also been drawn to the want of a future infinitive (i. e. an infinitive of *will* or *shall*: 7.2(1) and 22.1(6)) and to the want of a future of the ing (7.8(5)). We may here give some quotations to show various means of remedying the latter deficiency:

Goldsm V I. 193 [dream] she imagined her daughter's pockets filled with farthings, a certain sign of their *being one day stuffed* with gold | Russell Soc. Reconstr. 77 what hope there is of their *coming not to tolerate* it | Wells OH

545 they had gambled deeply in the *prospective looting* of Manchuria.

22.9(6). Participles are also deficient in time-expressions.

Instead of a past participle of *be* we have various adjectives: his *former* colleagues | his *past* experience | the *late* Lord Mayor | on *previous* occasions.

The infinitive with *to* may be used as a kind of substitute for the missing future participle, cf. its use in combination with the verb *be* (22.1(4)); this is specially frequent with *to come*: *the life to come* = 'the future life'. If this participial infinitive occurs in a sentence dealing with the past, its meaning naturally becomes that of a before-past time. The following examples supplement those given in II 15.81.

Sh Cy V. 5.212 all the villaines *past, in being, To come* | H4B I. 3.108 *Past, and to come* seems best; things *present*, worst | Bacon E 14 wise men have enough to doe, with things *present, and to come*: therefore, they doe but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters | Stevenson T 9 the captain held his peace that evening, and for many evenings *to come* | Maxwell S 24 the situation of a middle-aged, *soon-to-be old* spinster | Carlyle FR 214 a National Tricolor flag; victorious, or *to be victorious*, in the cause of civil and religious liberty | Locke GP 205 he had trumpeted her a *Bride-to-be* | Dowden Shelley 470 Mavrocordato, *soon to become distinguished* as the foremost statesman of the Greek Revolution, was two years older than Shelley | Bennett Imp. Pal. 581 He had . . . received the news about Gracie from the excited *grandfather-to-be* | Galsw Sw 138 affiliating every Slum Conversion Society *in being or to be.*

Note especially the perfect infinitive (in indirect speech) Bennett Acc 161 The time would come [he thought] when he would be sitting with his wife and . . . relating to her eager ears the whole history of the Pearl-Jack affair, then *to have been settled.*

Cf. also: a man about to sail to Australia | a man going to sail to Australia (prospective, 22.3).

We may call the adjective *future* a substitute for the missing future participle of the verb *be*; it may, of course, be used in a narrative of the past and then comes to correspond to the after-past time or prospective past: in speaking of Gladstone in his youth we may mention him as *the future Prime Minister*; cf. Brontë J 155 Mr. Rochester did, on a future occasion, explain it | Tozer's ed. of Childe Harold 15 One of his [Byron's] companions on his last expedition, George Finlay, the future historian of mediaeval and modern Greece . . . has described him.

Another recently much-used way of expressing 'that will (or may) be in the future' is by means of the adjective *prospective*:

Merriman S 142 fully informed as to his movements, past and prospective | Bennett A 91 the prospective partnership | id P 181 receiving him, not unpleasantly, as a prospective son-in-law | Angell I 66 if he can make a more advantageous offer to the prospective buyer | Wells OH 546 German imperialism derived what satisfaction it could from the thought of a prospective war with Japan | id Cl 704 prospective rulers | Locke FS 143 When he spoke again it was with reference to their prospective host | NP '20 examining the *existing and prospective* sources from which the world draws, or may draw, its supplies | NP '23 an owner, *present or prospective*, of property.

Cf. further Huxley L 2.398 Love to all you poor past snivellers from an *expectant* sniveller | Mayne, Byron 2.58 she was already the expectant mother of his child.

Cf. also *possible*, corresponding to *may* in expressions of the future:

Maxwell WF 161 as if she considered Charlie her sweetheart—or at any rate a possible sweetheart.

22.9(7). Let me here, as a kind of final parenthesis mention that with substantives and adjectives we may sometimes need expressions corresponding to the tenses of verbs (cf. PG 282 f., where phenomena from Indian languages, such as a future tense of the substantive *smoke* to express gunpowder, are mentioned). Some of the substitutes for participles just mentioned might be classed here: *the late*, or *the future Lord Mayor* as 'tenses' of the substantive itself. Agent nouns in *-er*, *-or*, etc. generally refer to the present or generic time (*brewer*, *lover*, etc.), but *the Creator of the world* is = 'he who has created the world'. *Deserts* corresponds to a perfect (= 'what I have deserved') in Sh R3 IV. 415 Pleade what I will be, not what I haue beene; Not my deserts, but what I will deserue.

Examples of various ways in which substantives, adjectives and pronouns may be referred to a past time:

An *ex-king* | Huxley L 1.424 appropriate to an *ex-traveller* in Egypt | Swinburne L 45 older than his *ex-wife* | Ridge S 43 an upright *ex-army man* | Wells H 375 *ex-elementary teachers* | Housman J 263 they had to talk to Charlotte of her *past doings* | Maxwell EG 145 He remembered his own unworthiness—at least his *past unworthiness* | Di N 41 Nicholas slept . . . dreamed of home, or of *what was home once* | Gissing H 49 I will show you my house. I mean *the house which was mine* | Bennett P 121 tailors to various august or *once-august personages*. Cf. also many of the examples given in II 14.9 of adverbs used as adjuncts: the *then* duke | her *once-husband* | her *one-time* sweetheart | the *whilom* rival.

Chapter XXIII.

(Appendix to Volume III.)

Predicatives after Particles.

23.1(1). Verbs are not the only words that can be combined with a predicative; though this is not recognized in the usual grammatical terminology, we must say that *as* and some prepositions in many combinations take a predicative: the meaning of this will become clear from the following disquisition, which will show that we have here something that is really parallel to the use of predicatives after verbs (vol. III, ch. XVII and XVIII): in some, but not in all, cases we might, in the old-fashioned way of explaining grammatical facts, say that some word like *being* might be supplied in thought before the predicative, but this is really superfluous. (On the comprehensive term 'particle' used here see PG 87; it allows us to class *as* with *to*, etc. without having to discuss whether it is a conjunction or not in such combinations.)

In the same way as with other predicatives (III 17.0) we have here a distinction between predicatives of being (static) and predicatives of becoming (kinetic).

As.

23.1(2). The typical particle combined with a predicative of being is *as*, which is used first in the sense 'in the capacity or character of':

As a man of science he was admirable, but one cannot praise him as a husband | he lived there as a physician | his career as a lawyer was short, but brilliant | Wilde In 4 Our splendid physique as a people is entirely due to our national stupidity.

23.1(3). Second, *as* takes a predicative when used after such verbs as *regard*, *view*, *represent*, *treat*, *acknowledge*, etc. Compare the two synonymous expressions *we regard him as a fool* and *we consider him a fool* (generally without *as*).

He was regarded as a fool by most people | children look upon middle-aged persons as quite old | Huxley L 1.115 Forbes, whose advice I look upon as first-rate in all these things | Kipl S 267 they reported the country as pacified | he treated all men as his equals.

23.1(4). Third, after the preposition *with* (= having): she went to the ball with her aunt as chaperon.

23.1(5). The unnatural position in the following quotation is caused by the length of the object of *with*: NP'23 France might march on Berlin with as ultimate aim a French hegemony in which the effective eastern frontier of France would be the border line between Russia and Poland. (Cf. *with here and there a cottage.*)

23.1(6). Adverbs and prepositional groups may be predicatives after *as*, just as after a verb (see III 18.6):

Swift T 3 I look upon myself as fifty shillings out of pocket | Macaulay H 1.74 they regarded the Protestants of the Continent as of the same household of faith with themselves | Mered T 188 The latest report spoke of him as off to the general's Court | Housman J 44 they were coming to be regarded as out of place | Bennett LR 177 He wanted simply to think of her as at rest through endless ages | Pinero Iris 85 I want you to regard your embarrassments as absolutely at an end.

For.

23.2. *For* with a predicative is old; note the use of the accusative agreeing with *deadne mon* in Boet. (quoted by Huchon *Hist. de la L. Angl.* 1.247) *habban deadne mon for cwucone.* With adjectives it is found in Vices a. V. 5 Sume . . . sone hem seluen healdeð for hali | ib 79 Wa ȝeu ðe healdeð ȝeu seluen for wise . . . he is ihealde nu for sott.

23.2(1). *For* with a predicative means practically the same thing as *as*; thus very often after *know* and similar verbs:

Ch D 320 I knowe you for a trewe wyf, cf. C 141, 156, G 457 | Mandeville 209 women . . . han tokenes . . . to ben knowen for unmaryed | Sh Cæs V. 4.8 know me for Brutus | Rossetti 153 we knew it at last For a woman tattered and old | Norris O 219 he wouldn't know her for the same little girl | Caine M 148 she thought everybody knew her for what she was—a broken, forsaken, fallen woman | Bennett W 2.57 She knew Gerald for a glib liar to others | id C 2.66 He knew for a fact that his father did not see Mr S | Benson N 66 he knew by instinct, practically for certain, that these two were not husband and wife || Stevenson M 235 I shall recognise him for no son of mine | Lawrence L 190 she could hardly recognise him for the same man | Defoe R 2.148 to own these women for their wives.

23.2(2). Thus also with verbs like *reckon*, *mean*, *suspect*, *take*, *mistake*, etc.:

Ch D 367 an hateful wyf Yrekened is for oon of thise meschances | Malory 716 this was taken in the countrey for a myrakle | Bunyan G 9 one that was reckoned for a religious man | Osborne 100 she was the first woman that ever I took notice of for extreamly handsom | Cowper L 1.392 [he might] have suspected it for a deliberate fiction | ib 1.187 a tyrant shall be mistaken for a true patriot | Lamb E 2.194 not quite such servile imitators as they take them for | Mitford OV 169 hair so light that it might rather pass for white than flaxen | Ru F 37 hold it for an honour to be independent | Rose Macaulay T 197 he attacked what he held for evils | Di D 189 What do you think of that for a kite? | Trollope B 247 He meant the smile for a pleasant smile | Butler W 235 he passed generally for good-looking | Bennett W 2.239 he took her for no ordinary woman | I took it for granted that he would come.

23.2(3). The idiom is very frequent after verbs meaning praise or the opposite, especially after such strong expressions as *curse*, *confound*, etc.:

Roister 44 laughed to skorne, For the veriest dolte that ever was borne | Heywood P 669 to prayse you for an honest man, When ye affyrmed it for no lye | Swift J 488 celebrating him for a great politician | Lamb E 2.180 to be applauded for witty when you know that you have been dull | ib 2.213 May we be branded for the veriest churl | GE S 103 confound me for a fool! I might have known this would be the end of it | Di M 216 Confound you for a ridiculous fellow! | Stevenson T 229 I've always liked you for a lad of spirit | Caine M 132 swearing at himself for a mean-souled ingrate | Mered R 247 bless you for a darling! | Ward F 307 Fenwick denounced himself for a selfish brute | Wells V 201 she wanted to cry out upon herself for the uttermost fool in existence | Bennett C 1.131 he despised Miss Ingamell for a moral weakling | Ward F 304 She tried to laugh at him for a too dependent friend | Walpole C 229 he cursed Foster for a meddling, cantankerous fanatic | Kaye Smith T 99 Some blamed him for an old ass | Farnol A 281 I despise you for a creeping spy, a fool, a coward || Bennett LR 229 its attack on the Prime Minister for an interfering, restless amateur.

This leads naturally to expressions like the following:

Marlowe F 588 A plague on her for a hote whore | Sh All II. 3.224 Lord haue mercie on thee for a hen | Hml V. 1.196 A pestlence on him for a mad rogue | Cowper L 1.203 Begone for a jackanapes | Fielding 1.438 Get thee gone for a good-for-nothing dog as thou art.

23.2(4). After *choose* or *have*:

Sh Merch V. 233 Ile haue the doctor for my bedfellow | Bennett W 2.317 evolution had chosen her for one of its victims | ib 186 a great comfort that my son has got you for a friend | ib 216 I'm very proud to have Cyril for a nephew | Galsworthy P 4.66 I didn't think I had a blackguard for a son.

Cf. also Sh Shr IV. 5.40 the man whom fauourable stars Alots thee for his louely bedfellow | Swift 3.7 as calling him for a witness.

23.2(5). After *leave*, etc.:

Ch B 2162 [they] leften hir for deed | Fulg. 48 | Sh Ado IV. 1.204 the Princesse (left for dead) | Stevenson M 158 I was left behind for dying || Defoe R 2.369 I gave my self over for lost | Keats 4.193 they gave themselves over for lost | Collins W 206 I give her up for lost || Bunyan P 144 thy father was hanged for a traitor.

23.2(6). *For* with a predicative is found after *with*, cf. *as*, above 23.1(4):

James RH 368 with Mr. Hudson for my brother I should be willing to live and die an old maid | Kaye Smith HA 45 Mary moved like the priest of her own beauty, with her dressing-table for altar and her maid for acolyte.

23.2(7). *For* also may mean "considering what he (etc.) is, or that he (etc.) is . . ." (cf. Fr. "Pour un paysan il était assez gentil", Dan. "Af en bonde at være er han ikke helt dum", where the verb 'to be' is joined to the prep. *af*); the examples in NED *for* 27 are not all to the point; the oldest is from Richardson 1754:

Mi PL 6.116 strange vagaries . . . As they would dance, yet for a dance they seemd Somwhat extravagant and wilde | Defoe R 2.5 I think it a most preposterous thing for one of your years | Swift J 391 she has very generous principles for one of her sort | Goldsm 635 The gentleman, for a tailor, was as fine a spoken tailor as . . . | Hope In 43 she was, for so young and pretty a woman, a trifle indiscreet | GE M 1.53 she'd allays a very poor colour for one of our family | Dowden Shelley 5 Bysshe was tall for ten years old | Bennett ECh 151 The flat was large, but it was only large for a flat.

23.2(8). Here also belongs the obsolete *what for* used in the same way as G. *was für*:

Spenser (NED) What is he for a ladde you so lament? | Sh Ado I. 3.49 What is hee for a foole that betrothes himselfe to vnquietnesse? | Scott (NED) What is that for a Zenobia? | cf. Gissing G 64 how's that for a piece of news? | London V 27 you know what the Micks are for a rough house.

23.2(9). In the same category as this *for* = 'as' with a predicative we should place the curious Chaucerian instances of *for* discussed by Stoffel Int 18 ff., especially 20 ff. Examples of this phenomenon are

D 394 Whan that for syk unnethes mighte he stonde [he could not stand as being (or, because he was) ill] | A 3120 the miller, that for dronken was al pale | HF 3.1747 That wimmen loven us for wood ['like mad'] | R 276 That nigh she melteth for pure wood | ib 356 Hir heed for hoor was whyt as flour, cf. also 520, 580, 1712. I agree with Stoffel in rejecting the explanation that we have here an intensive prefix, but disagree with his analysis, when he speaks of a "nounal [i. e. substantival] use of adjectives".—Perhaps also *short* in "we call him Joe for short" should be called a predicative.

To, Into.

23.3(1). *To* is used pretty often with a predicative; this is most often a predicative of becoming in accordance with the original meaning of *to*, which implies change or movement, and *to* thus means 'so as to become'. The verb most frequently used in these combinations is *turn*. In the quotation from Burns editors unnecessarily change *dead* into *death*, showing thereby that the phrase is not usual in present day English.

Examples: Beowulf 2079 Him Grendel wearð . . . to muð-bonan | AS Chron 1085 se cyng . . . dubbade his sunu Henric to ridere þær | Ælfric 1.238 ælc bisceop is to hyrde gesett Godes folce | Ch A 2058 Calistopee . . . Was turned from a womman to [var. till] a bere; cp. 2062 | Sh Lucr 867 The sweets we wish for, turne to lothed sours; cp. Lr. III. 4.80 | Hml II. 2.365 if they [the children] should grow themselues to common players | Burns 1.285 monie a beast to dead she shot | Shelley 730 The marriage feast and its solemnity was turned to funeral pomp | Brontë V 276 with us she rose at once to the little lady | Di F 99 in a manner that amounted to personal | Stevenson M 246 the town itself is shrunk to the hamlet underneath us | Churchill C 153 he had been reduced to a frenzied supplicant | Mackenzie C 190 The wind had risen to half a gale | Bennett ECh 52 Miss Eva's temperature had dropped to normal | Lewis MA 368 he had risen from office-boy to owner of a shipping company.

Cp. also the frequent phrase: Southey L 68 from the days of John Milton English poetry has gone on from bad to worse—and the variants: Dreiser F 308 Things went from good to better | ib 310 Things went from better to best.

Here must be mentioned also phrases like Hope D 101 he dropped a flower-pot and smashed it to bits | pull something to pieces.

23.3(2). From combinations like *take to wife*, in which we have a predicative of becoming, the transition is easy to the phrase *have to wife*, where *to* is followed by a predicative of being. (Instead of *to* we may, of course, have *unto*). The idiom is rather archaic.

Examples: Ch C 483 The holy writ take I to my witnesse, cf. LGW 1304, A 1289 | Malory 81 another knyght that helde her to peramour | ib 100 Gweneuer was not holsome for hym to take to wyf | ib 100 he wold haue vnto his wyf Gweneuer | Greene F 10.9 So thou consent to give her to my wife | Marl F 1356 That I might haue vnto my paramour That heauenly Helen | BJo 3.240 he shall have me to enemy | Trollope B 562 [from the ritual] wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife? | Swinb T 121 oh my lord that hadst me to thy wife | Haggard S 30 she would have taken him to husband.

With this may be compared Thack E 2.128 she was a princess though she had scarcely anything to her fortune.

23.3(3). A predicative of becoming is frequent after the preposition *into*:

Lyly C 305 to haue his iuory turned into flesh | Sh Tp I. 2.401 a sea-change Into something rich, and strange | Bunyan G 10 I changed my condition into a married state | Keats 5.73 I have altered, not from a chrysalis into a butterfly, but the contrary | Shelley PW 2.379 to degrade God into man | Ru P 1.176 she must then have been rapidly growing into a tall, handsome girl | Spencer A 1.387 the growth of a seed into a plant, or an ovum into an adult animal | Huxley L 2.390 I should gravitate into a bore | Bennett C 1.298 he had grown down into a child again | Stevenson M 284 the wind rose into a tempest | Gissing G 214 the little girl shot into a woman grown | Ward M 196 they should not degenerate into a pair of scolds | London A 287 you could be trained into a very good husband | Bennett W 1.154 her maternal affection had exaggerated a molehill into a mountain | London A 35 he ordered some of the packing-cases to be knocked together into a coffin | ib 148 the Sniders he smashed into fragments | Bennett W 2.302 He had settled down into a dilettante | Raleigh Sh 37 tadpoles turn into frogs | Galsw IC 48 as the afternoon wore into evening | ib 57 the thought . . . sliding into a vague wonder how she was faring | Benson W 24 the best way is to subside into the genial and interested looker-on | Maxwell S 317 don't let me develop into a twaddling old bore | Wells PF 93 [she was] changed completely into the great lady she had intended to be | Dane FB 163 Growing bored, she had lapsed into a mere listener | They united into one nation.

23.3(4). The predicative after *into* is very rarely an adjective; note the article in Bennett W 1.89 her face was transfigured into the ravishingly angelic. *Into* emphasizes the movement more than *to* does, and that may be the reason why it is chiefly found with substantives.

23.3(5). When the verb *make* is synonymous with *change* (change a thing from one state X into another Y), different constructions are possible: *make X Y*, *make Y of X* (or *make of X (a) Y*), and *make X into Y*; cp. the three renderings of the biblical expression: they make their belly their god | they make a god of their belly | they make their belly into their god | Fr. ils font leur dieu de leur ventre | Dan. De gör bugen til deres gud. Here we are concerned with the third construction only. It will be seen that in the last of the following examples *into* cannot be omitted without making the sentence unintelligible:

(Layamon 1.137 & makedē heo to quene) | Carlyle R 1.9 God make the possibility, blessed possibility, into a reality | Benson W 82 it is useless to attempt to make oneself into a brilliant talker | Russell Ed 111 their teachers thought it sufficient to make them into English gentlemen | Galsw SS 64 the war made us all into barbarians | id IC 274 making the lie she had told into the truth.

From, Of.

23.4(1). *From* with a predicative may mean both 'from being' (implying change—'kinetic predicative', though not 'predicative of becoming') and 'from the time when . . . was, or were' ('static'). (Note the difference between: "I have known him *from his boyhood*" with an ordinary object after *from*, and ". . . *from a boy*" with a predicative). Examples:

Sh R2 V. 3.79 Our scene is alter'd from a serious thing, And now chang'd to 'the Begger and the King' | Gibbon M 48 I felt myself suddenly raised from a boy to a man | ib 84 from a man I was again degraded to the dependence of a schoolboy | Carlyle FR 61 Foulon, who, from Commissariat-clerk which he once was, may hope . . . to be Minister | Browning 1.387 from a boy, to youth he grew | McCarthy 2.127 From a poetic Radical he had become a poetic Conservative | Doyle R 117 he has turned from a student into an idler | Stevenson M 267 he must sink more and more from the child into the servant | Hardy R 126 he's altered from the boy he was | Lowndes Ivy 202 the prisoner went from deathly pale to very red || Bunyan G 8 it put forth it self, both in my heart and life, and that from a child | Spect 133 Jack Truepenny who has been an old acquaintance of Sir Andrew and myself from boys | Franklin 15 From a child I was fond of reading [also Lamb R 6, Di D 317] | GE A 94 my aunt brought me up from a baby | Galsw SS 35 I've been a hair-dresser from a boy | id Sw 329 I knew him from a little boy [ambiguous: from my, or his, boyhood?].

23.4(2). The predicative after *from* is sometimes an adjective as in Lowndes above: Stevenson M 46 it only changed in kind from dark to darker. See below on *from . . . old* 23.5(3).

23.4(3). *Of* with a predicative (in the same sense as *from*) is completely obsolete, except with *make* (23.3(5)):

More U 79 in whose housse I was brought vp of a child [in cuius aula puer sum educatus] | Mi Pr 155 the Church, to whose service . . . I was destined of a child || Gissing H 4 it made of the whole garden plot a green jungle.

Out of may be used in contrast to *into*:

Galsw SP 381 you must remember that out of the swan she was, Nollie has made herself into a lame duck.

At ten years old, etc.

23.5(1). Here we must mention the idiomatic combination of a preposition with an adjective as predicative determined by a subjunct of measure: *at ten years old* means the same thing as *at ten years of age* or *at the age of ten years*, and may historically have arisen from a blending of the two expressions *at ten years* and *ten years old*, but if we ask how the construction is to be analyzed grammatically, the definition given above seems the correct one. What is said here of the static preposition *at*, applies also to the kinetic ones *to* and *from*.

23.5(2). Examples with *at*: Heywood P 1048 at ten yere olde | Sh R3 II. 3.16 when Henry the sixt Was crown'd in Paris, but at nine months old | ib II. 4.28 he could gnaw a crust at two houres old | Cymb I. 1.558, III. 3.101 | Defoe Rox 45 the child died at about six weeks old | Di D 144 at ten years old | Thack V 23 At six weeks old, he had received . . . a present.

With another adjective we have the same construction in Brontë J 279 he was standing at a yard or two distant from where I had to pass.

23.5(3). Examples with *from*: AV Mat. 2.16 Herode . . . slewe all the children . . . from two yeeres olde and vnder | Swift 3.309 horses were trained up from three or four years old | Austen E 6 she had played with her from five years old.

23.5(4). Examples with *to*: Fielding T 2.88 to live to eleven years old | Di T 1.256 the wall, risen to some eight or ten feet high.

The construction in "a young man under thirty years old" (NED 1625) is not parallel, for *under* belongs to *thirty*, cp. "a man about thirty years old".

23.5(5). A related construction is seen in Swift 3.105 the nurse came in with a child *of a year old* in her arms. This was mentioned in III 1.5 in connexion with other cases of the appositional *of*, which serves to combine words that cannot be immediately collocated. Besides the examples there given we may here quote

Ch R 402 More than a child of two yeer olde | Caxton R 90 a wulf of VII yere old | Quincey 26 a little girl of two years old | Wordsw 76 I have a boy of five years old | Darwin L 2.47 a little wild duck of a week old | Mered E 189 a wine of a century old.

With other adjectives than *old*:

AV Esther 5.14 let a gallous be made of fifty cubits *hie* (but ib 7.9 Behold also the gallowes, fiftie cubites high) | Spect 390 a lady of two foot high | Swift 3.12 eighty poles, each of one foot high | Di D 27 a huge, strong fellow of six feet high | Scott A 1.40 in ranks of two or three files *deep* | Mandeville 161 eles of 30 fote *long* | Walton A 80 he has caught a lusty one of nineteen inches long | Swift 3.32 threads of six inches long | Fielding 4.293 he made speeches of an hour long | Gissing H 4 Each [house] . . . had its garden of about twenty yards long | Butler Er 63 he made me a speech of about five minutes long.

23.5(6). Where two dimensions are indicated, we have a completely parallel construction with *by*:

Galsworthy P 6.82 cell . . . thirteen feet broad by seven deep | Haggard S 25 a silver casket, about twelve inches square by eight high | Bennett ECh 210 This interior was about seven feet long by six feet broad.

23.5(7). The phenomenon here treated, a preposition governing a predicative, is found in many languages; a few examples have already been given, and a few more may here be added, arranged according to languages without regard to logical order: Greek: emos hetairos ek neou (Plato) | Lat.: pro hoste habere | Fr.: je me le tiens pour dit | "Le grand inquisiteur n'est qu'un sot." "Nous le savions, mais pour injuste et pour fanatique, je ne le connaissais pas encore" (Mérimée) | D'insolent qu'il était, il se fait humble | (la consonne) devient une forte de douce qu'elle était (Grammont) | It.: Fin da ragazzo ho avuto una repulsione per . . . (NP) | Giovanni non si diede per vinto (Fogazzaro) | Sp.: desde niños | Con esto podemos dar por explicados los principales términos (Lenz) | Gothic: ei tawidêdeina ina du þiudana | G.: das wasser wurde zu wein | wir luden ihn zu gaste ein | einen anzug, den sein vater auf einem bauernhof billig für alt gekauft hatte (Frenssen) | daß die kinder die ganze lottrige wirtschaft für in ordnung halten (id.) | Dan.: jeg anser ham for et geni | jeg har kendt ham fra ganske lille | han læser til præst | Russ.: postupit' v njan'ki 'become nurse'. But if we look up grammars and dictionaries, we find either no mention, or the most heterogeneous explanations and classifications of this phenomenon, see, e. g. Paul, Wörterb. 624, 650, Heyne, Wb. für 1004, Tobler, Verm. Beitr. 2.202 f., Lenz, La Oración y sus Partes, 2. ed. 315, 498.

In languages with case inflexion in nouns the 'predicativity' of the word after the preposition is sometimes shown by the use of the nominative, though the preposition ordinarily requires another case; thus in G. *was für ein mann*, Dutch *wat voor een*, with indeclinable *een*, Russian *što za čelověk*; in a rather different way Russian *v* with the nom. pl. *ego vzjali v soldaty*, Boyer et Spéranski, *Manuel*, p. 26, 5. Note also the nom. in G. "Der rektor sprach über das wirken Sybels als akademischer lehrer", which Curme (*Grammar of the G. L.*, 2nd ed. 486) explains from the fact that a verb lies concealed in the sb. *wirken*; but would it not be possible to say, for instance, "er sprach von seiner uniform als aktiver offizier", where no verb is concealed in *uniform*? *Als* may take a predicative in the nom., just as the verb *sein* does.

Prepositions and prepositional groups as subjuncts of degree.

23.6(1). We may treat here a phenomenon which has some similarity, though it is not strictly identical, with the phenomenon just treated, namely that some prepositions and prepositional groups may be used to indicate a degree and therefore may govern an adjective or adverb, though the object of a preposition is generally a substantive (a primary). When *about* is used in this way, as in

I am about tired of this (NED) | Stevenson M 35 I was about ready | Is your work about finished? | about as tall as his father

—most dictionaries simply call *about* an adverb (cf. III 1.2₅) but I have never seen the same term used about such combinations as *far from, next to*, etc.

23.6(2). Examples of *far from* used in this way.

Defoe R 2.5 I am far from willing | id M 76 I was far enough from mad | Johnson R 127 the chief was far from illiterate | Carlyle FR 402 the King's dinner not far from ready there | Lytton K 226 I am far from an inquisitive man by temperament | Swinb L 213 a young, idle, far from noteworthy man | Stevenson M 270 it is far from improbable | Gissing H 106 I'm sorry to see him looking so far from well | Maxwell WF 24 The dear fellow was delicate, very far from strong.

This of course is grammatically different from the very common use of a verbal substantive in *-ing* (which may have a predicative) after *far from*, as in Defoe R 2.164 he was far from being easy.

23.6(3). Examples of *near upon* (obs.), *near to*, *next to*, *next door to*:

Farquhar B 361 There's one tankard that's near upon as big as me | Osborne 132 I have used him soe neer to rudely that there is litle left for mee to doe | Defoe M 101 I was near to distracted | Hardy R 9 his face, if not exactly handsome, approached so near to handsome that . . . | Bailey in Crime & Detection 338 he don't know how near he was to dead || Defoe R 2.19 it must have been next to miraculous | ib 72 it was next to impossible to penetrate it [very frequent, e. g. Defoe R 200, Austen

P 82, Di T 2.7, Brontë V 107] | Collins W 478 I'm next to certain I should have heard the whole truth | Huxley LS 72 the worst of our schools give what is really next to no education at all || Defoe Rox 303 Amy was next door to stark mad about her | Ridge G 185 I'm next door to a pauper || Brontë W 10 My neighbour struck me as bordering on repulsive.

23.6(4). Examples of *over* and *over and above* may be compared with the use of *passing*, *exceeding* mentioned in II 15.28:

By DJ 6.15 over warm Or over cold annihilates the charm | ib 6.16 your over chilly women | Trollope B 254 Mrs Quiverful was not over careful about her attire | Kipl S 247 it had detained them over long || Scott A 2.12 it was not over and above civil | id OM 186 I am not over and above pre-eminently flattered | Jacobs L 99 you are not looking over and above well | Hope Q 126 it wouldn't be over and above pleasant to have him for a brother-in-law.

23.6(5). Somewhat similar instances, in which we have a preposition with an adjective, are found in the following quotations:

Stevenson B 335 an old shipman, *between* drunk and sober | Hardy R 41 [face] It was between pretty and beautiful || Carlyle R 2.316 I had been *the reverse of* tempted to look after the other papers | Di F 275 it is the reverse of important to my position | Bennett P 156 her feet were the reverse of enormous | Gissing B 339 the constitution of his mind made it *the opposite of* natural for him to credit himself with . . . || Bennett P 174 That lunch was *a bit of* all right | Caine M 8 I was just feeling a bit of tired.

With the first of these cp. Italian: la esistenza era una visione fra dolorosa e leggiadra (Serao) | No? esclamò Giovanni fra sorpreso e incredulo (Fogazzaro). Cp. also *Negation* p. 36.

23.7(1). *Instead of* also may have a predicative:

Bennett A 178 Her kindliness became for the time passive instead of active | Ru Sel 1.471 your pretty protestant beads, which are flat, and of gold, instead of round, and of ebony, as the monks' ones were.

23.7(2). *Short of* (most often *little short of*) may be used with an adjective:

Carlyle FR 215 such a Constitution is little short of miraculous | Galsw F 424 a preoccupation little short of ludicrous | Kaye Smith HA 223 he's been short of shy and hungry.

For the meaning (wanting little in, thus = nearly) cp. the use with a substantive, as in Stevenson M 179 what animal, short of a lion or a tiger, could thus shake the solid walls of the residencia? | Wells H 220 the imprisonment of Lady Harman lasted just one day short of a fortnight | ib 221 But just short of violence Sir Isaac's spirit failed him.

23.7(3). The preposition *but* governs an adjective in *anything but happy* and *all but happy.*

We may even have an adverb after this *but*: Cournos Wall 195 It was true that most moneyed people lived anything but lyrically.

23.7(4). *Of* may govern an adjective (as well as a verb) in the popular combination *kind of*, *sort of* used as one indivisible preposed subjunct (cf. II 3.8), e. g. Di D 535 she was brought up at a public, sort of charitable, institution | Bennett P 162 I feel sort of lost without one [a secretary] | Churchill C 122 it's kind of pleasant to l'arn | Norris P 85 I feel sort of seedy this morning | he sort of laughed at us.

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with . . . as 23.1(4), . . . *for* 23.2(6).
won't 15.2(1), 15.4(5).

would. Forms 15.2(1), confused with *had* 19.9; *rather* 19.9(1), *better* 19.9(2).—Meaning ch. XIX. Real past 19.1, with crude form of verb preposed 19.1(1); negative 19.1(2), positive 19.1(3); *would have* 19.1(4), supplanted by *wanted,* etc. 19.1(5), repeated action 19.1(6), 22.8(1); *would do* 19.1(7), power or capacity 19.1(8), with perf. inf. 19.1(9).—Imaginative volition 10.7(3), 19.2—3, in conditional clauses 19.3(1—3), in wishes 19.3(4, 5), *would (to) God* 19.3(5).—Non-volitional *would* 19.4; after-past 19.4(1); imaginative non-volitional 19.4(2), condition not expressed 19.4(4). Probability 19.7, *it would seem* 19.7(5). In conditional clause 19.8. *Would* in 1st person 19.2(2) ff., 19.5, question 19.2(4), 19.5(5), *I would (if I were you)* 19.5(6), *I would like* 16.6(1). Sweet's rule 16.3(3). *Would* in 2nd and 3rd persons i. a. 19.2(5) ff.; *would you* 19.2(7), 19.5(7), 19.6(2). *Would* in indirect speech ch. XXI, direct 1st person 21,1, direct 2nd person 21.2, direct 3rd person 21.3; back-shifted or after-past 21.4; temporal clauses 21.5.

would-be 19.2(6).

wouldn't 15.2(1).

you was 10.2(3).

Corrections.

4.6(3). The quotation from Carlyle does not show inclusive time.

16.5. *Will* is quite natural (with non-personal subject) in "I will come if it will be (of) any use to you", which perhaps is a shade politer than "if it is". Similarly Priestley G 305 Now if all the dresses will be finished by about next Monday, why don't you bring them yourself? But *will be* is not possible instead of *is* in "It will be splendid if he is able to join us".

16.7(3). The first example belongs to 19.7(1).

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